THE

COMPLETE WORKS

OF

M. DE MONTESQUIEU.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

DUBLIN:

Printed for W. WATSON, W. WHITESTONE, J. WILLIAMS, W. COLLES, W. WILSON, T. WALKER, C. JENKIN, L. L. FLIN, E. LYNCH, R. MONCRIEFFE, L. WHITE, E. CROSS, M. MILLS, P. WOGAN, T. ARMITAGE, J. BEATTY, and J. EXSHAW.

MDCCLXXVII.

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MDCCLXXVII.

FAMILIAR LETTERS

BY

PRESIDENT DE MONTESQUIEU.

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FAMILIAR LETTERS.

LETTER I.

To Father Cerati * *of the Congregation of the Orators of Saint* Philip *at* Rome.

I HAD the honour of writing to you by the laſt poſt, my reverend father; and now write to you again by this. I take a pleaſure in doing every thing that may recall to your memory, a friendſhip which is to me ſo dear. I add to what I wrote to you concerning a certain affair .... † that if M. de Fouquet exacts more than the ſum I ſeemed to fix you upon giving, you may enlarge it, and give more, and do in regard to every other condition, what may not appear obviouſly unreaſonable. I

* M. Cerati was deſcended from a noble family in Parma. John Gaſton, the laſt Grand Duke of Tuſcany, had appointed him of the order of St. Stephen, and Proveditor to the univerſity of Piſa. M. de Monteſquieu, in his tour through Italy, became acquainted with him at Cardinal de Polignac's.

† A jeſuit returned from China with M. Mezzabarba. This miſſionary had proteſted againſt the Chineſe rites, and ſpoke to the Pope according to his conſcience. Some time after the ſaid declaration he obſerved to his Holineſs, that the air of the college did not agree with him: whereupon Benedict XIII. made him a biſhop, in partibus, and aſſigned to him an apartment in the Propaganda. M. de Monteſquieu became very intimate with him at the Cardinal de Polignac's, and entered ſince into a treaty with him in favour of Abbé Duval his ſecretary, for the reſignation of a benefice in Britany, which this prelate had obtained from the court of Rome.

know the Chevalier Lambert, a famous banker here, who tells me that there is a correſpondence between him and Belloni. I ſhall forward immediately through his hands, whatever ſum you may have agreed upon; for M. Fouquet's will ſeems to me to be ſo whiffling and indeterminate, as to induce me to think that it is not worth while to proceed to any contract until his fixed reſolution be previouſly known *.

I am now in a country that but very little reſembles the reſt of Europe. We have not as yet been informed of the contents of the treaty with Spain. It is taken for granted that it has made no change in the quadruple alliance, excepting that the ſix thouſand men which are to go into Italy to pay their court to Don Carlos, muſt conſiſt of Spaniſh, but not of neutral troops.

There fly about here every day, as you muſt have heard, all ſorts of indecent and licentious printed papers. About a fortnight or three weeks ago I was extremely irritated at one, declaring that my Lord cardinal of Rohan had cauſed to be brought from Germany with great care and expence for the uſe of the people of his dioceſe, a machine, ſo conſtructed, that one might play at dice withal, ſhake them and throw them without receiving any impreſſive direction from the hand of a gameſter, who before this invention might glide them out ſmoothly, or volley them off impetuouſly, juſt as he pleaſed, or occaſion ſuited, by the energy of a moſt illicit knack, which eſtabliſhed a fraudulent practice in what had been invented merely for a recreation of the mind. I own to you I am of opinion that ſo ridiculous

* The frequent difficulties, one after the other, which M. Fouquet contrived relative to the penſion, or the ſum of money to be ſtipulated for it, made M. de Monteſquieu declare, "It is eaſy to ſee that gentleman has not as yet ſhaken off the old duſt."

ridiculous a pleaſantry could be ſtarted by none other but by an heretic or janſeniſt.

If there ſhould appear in Italy any new printed work worthy of being read, pray do not keep it a ſecret from me. I have the honour to be with every degree of tenderneſs and friendſhip.

London, Dec. 21, 1729.

LETTER II.

To the Same.

FATHER Cerati, you are my benefactor.—Like Orpheus, you make rocks to follow you. I have informed Abbé Duval *, that I do not mean he ſhould abuſe the politeneſs of Mr. Fouquet, but that he ſhould continue his purſuit, and that whatever might be the reſult, ſhould in a friendly manner be ſhared between them both.

Rome is then at laſt delivered from the mean tyranny of Benevento, and the reins of pontifical ſupremacy are no longer guided by ſuch vile hands. All thoſe upſtart coxcombs, S. Marie at their head, have diſappeared, and are retired to their native cottages, there to entertain their kindred with recitals of their former inſolence. Coſcia has nothing now left but his money and his gout. Let all thoſe of the Benevento party be hanged who have robbed; in order that the prophecy may be accompliſhed on their chief, *Vox in Rama audita eſt; Rachel plorans filios ſuos, noluit conſolari, quia non ſunt.*

Give us a Pope with a ſword like St. Paul, but not with a roſary like St. Dominick, or with a knap-

* It was he carried the copy of the Perſian Letters into Holland, and had them printed there to the author's great expence, who never derived any profit from them.

ſack like St. Francis—Aroufe from your lethargy.—*exoriare aliquis.* Are you not aſhamed to ſhew us ſtill the old chair of St. Peter with a broken back, and all over worm-eaten? are people to look upon your coffer, in which, forſooth, are ſuch magazines of ſpiritual treaſure as on a quackiſh box of orvietan or mithridat? To ſay the truth, you make a fine uſe of your infallibility by employing it to prove that Quenel's book is worth nothing; but you do not preſume to exert it in deciding that the Emperor's pretenſions upon Parma and Placentia are groundleſs. Your triple crown reſembles very much to the laurel one, which Cæſar put on to cover his baldneſs. Preſent my acts of adoration to Cardinal de Polignac. I was three days ago received a member of the Royal Society of London; where there was mention made of a letter from Mr. Thomas Dhiſam to his brother, deſiring to know the ſentiments of that learned body concerning the aſtronomical diſcoveries of M. Bianchini. Embrace on my behalf, if you pleaſe, Abbé, the dear Abbé Nicolini. —I ſalute you, dear father, with all my heart.

London, March 1, 1730.

LETTER III.

To Monſieur L' Abbé Venuti *, *at* Clerac.

I HAVE received, Sir, the honour of your letter, with much more pleaſure than I ſhould have thought, on being made to know that L'Abbé Cherac, whom I already

* This learned Italian ſprung from a diſtinguiſhed houſe in Tortona, was ſent into France by the Chapter of St. John de Latran as vicar-general of the abbey of Clerac, which Henry the Fourth conferred upon this Chapter after his abſolution. He was next promoted to the Provoſtſhip of Leghorn by the Emperor, as Grand Duke of Tuſcany, but is now retired to his native country.

I already held very high in my eſtimation, is brother of the Chevalier Venuti, with whom I contracted a friendſhip at Florence, and through whoſe kind offices I was honoured with a place in the academy of Cortona. I earneſtly ſupplicate that you will entertain for me ſentiments congenial with thoſe of your brother. I have learnt by letter from M. Campagne, the elegant preſent you have entruſted him with for me; and that lays me under the greateſt obligation to you. Mr. Baritaut had already made me read a part of this work; and what pleaſed me infinitely in your diſſertations, was to diſcover wit and learning united, ſo rare a phænomenon in the literary world!

You are the cauſe, Sir, that the academy of Bourdeaux preſſes me ſo violently to obtain an arret of the grand council for creating twenty aſſociates, inſtead of twenty pupils. The great deſire ſhe has of boaſting your enrolment on her liſt; and the difficulty ariſing on the other hand from all the aſſociates places being filled, inſtigates her with the deſire of ſeeing new places created. The affairs of Cardinal de Polignac, and others, have proved an obſtacle to this arret's being not yet obtained. I write however to the gentlemen of the academy, about removing this impediment, and that you deſerve, if the door be ſhut, to favour your entrance, a breach ſhould be made. I hope, Sir, that next year, in caſe I ſhould return to my provincial reſidence, I ſhall have the honour of ſeeing you at Clerac, and of inviting you to Bourdeaux. I ſhall cheriſh every opportunity that may contribute to encreaſe our acquaintance; no body can be more reſpectfully yours than I am.

P. S. When you write to your brother the Chevalier Venuti, be ſo good as to relate to him a thouſand things on my behalf. His excellent qualities are ever preſent in my mind's eye.

LETTER IV.

To the Abbé Nicolini*, *at* Florence.

I HAVE received with a ſincere joy the letter you have been pleaſed to honour me with, dear and illuſtrious Abbé. You are one of thoſe men who can never be forgotten, and impreſs an indelible ſtamp on remembrance. My heart, my ſoul, all all are yours, deareſt Abbé.

You inform me of two very agreeable articles; the one is that we are to ſee the noble Cerati in France, and the other is, that the Marchioneſs Feroni has not forgotten me. I pray you will be ſo good as to cement with the one and the other, that friendſhip they have been ſo kind as to honour me with, and of which I would fain be thought worthy. I cannot help being vain about one article, nay of boaſting, that although born on this ſide of the Alps, I have been as much charmed by her manifold excellencies as any of you, who drew your firſt breath on the other ſide.

I am now at Bourdeaux about a month, and propoſe continuing there three or four months longer, where I ſhould be inconſolable were that to prevent the pleaſure of ſeeing my deareſt Cerati; but in that caſe, I muſt dare to preſume on his coming to viſit me at Bourdeaux. He there would ſee his friend, and through that occaſion, enjoy a better view of France, in which there is nothing worth the ſeeing but Paris, and the diſtant provinces, becauſe the latter have not as yet been devoured by the

* When the Abbé Marquis Nicolini, who was but a moderate admirer of the miniſtry of Lorraine, received orders not to return to Tuſcany, M. de Monteſquieu on hearing the news cried out.—"O I am ſure my friend Nicolini muſt have uttered ſome bold truth."

former;

former; he then muſt ſhape his way along the two ſides of a ſquare, inſtead of proceeding on it's diagonal line, and conveniently take in a view of our more beautiful provinces, which are thoſe bordering on the ocean, and Mediterranean.

What think you now of the Engliſh? Behold how they cover all the ſeas. They are like an immenſe whale, *et latum ſub pectore poſſidet æquor*. The queen of Spain has taught Europe a grand ſecret, to wit, that the Indies, which were believed to be attached to her by an hundred thouſand chains, holds to the Spaniſh crown but by a weak and very ſlender thread. Adieu, dear and illuſtrious Abbé, grant to me the ſame cordial ſentiments with which my boſom glows for you. I am with every mark of reſpect.

Bourdeaux, March 6, 1740.

LETTER V.

To Mr. Cerati, *at* Piſa.

YOUR letter, Sir, came very late to hand. It is dated January the 10th, and I did not receive it till the 5th of May, at Bourdeaux, where I have been for a month paſt, and ſhall continue for three or four months longer. Promiſe to me, nay ſwear, that if I am not in Paris when you ſhall paſs through that city, you will come and ſee me at Bourdeaux, and make that your way in returning to Italy. I have already obſerved to Nicolini, that there is nothing more in it than in purſuing the two ſides of a parallelogram, inſtead of following the diagonal line; by which direction the beautiful part of France is to be ſeen; but if on the contrary you ſhould chuſe traverſing by the midway of the kingdom, you then can ſee Paris only, but not your friend. However,

obſerve, that this is meant in caſe I ſhould not be at Paris when you ſhall be there; but whether abſent from or preſent in that metropolis, I ſhall take care of all due honours being paid to a perſon ſo deſerving, and that is, by the introducing you on our Mount Parnaſſus. If you ſhould incline for viſiting England, let me know it, that I may give you letters for ſeveral of my friends there. In fine, I flatter myſelf with a pleaſing hope, that you will from time to time let me hear from you during your voyage, and inform me by letter, how you proceed. My addreſs is either at Bourdeaux or at Paris, St. Dominic ſtreet. You are going to enjoy the moſt agreeable tour that can be made. In regard to finances, if at Paris, I ſhall be your mentor. In that ſurpriſing city, you will ſee crowds of meritorious people trudging on foot, and the gaudy carriages occupied for the moſt part by worthleſs coxcombs. Cardinal de Polignac has judged right in not going to the conclave, and in leaving this affair of eccleſiaſtic intrigue to be determined by others; he is however in a very good ſtate of health, and that is the moſt important of affairs both to himſelf, and his friends. You will find him as amiable as ever, though he is not now in the faſhion. Farewel, illuſtrious Sir, and be perſuaded that I not only now am, but ever ſhall, while life endures, be actuated by the moſt affectionate ſentiments for your welfare. As much as the world in general eſteems, ſo do I love your merit; and in whatever realm you may be ſtationed, you will be ever preſent to my thoughts. I have the honour of being with the moſt profound reſpect and eſteem.

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LETTER VI.

To Abbé Venuti *at* Clerac.

I HAVE but juſt time, Sir, to write to you a word or two. Some of your friends have applied to me to ſpeak to Madame de Tencin about certain letters that have been written againſt you *. But as I am altogether in the dark concerning this affair, and am abſolutely ignorant whether they mean the firſt letters, or any new ones: be ſo good then as to clear up this matter. Communicate to me what you deſire I ſhould ſay to the cardinal, whoſe arrival here is expected ſoon; for you may believe me to be, without any reſerve, your openly avowed and very reſpectful friend.

Paris, April 17, 1742.

* Abbé Venuti had ſcarce been inveſted with the adminiſtration of the abbey of Clerac, when a party in Rome was formed againſt him, and by the very chapter that had ſent him, in order to work his being recalled. And the interfering of Cardinal de Tencin was procured, to effectually injure him. The chief complaint urged againſt Venuti, was, that the remittances out of the revenue of the abbey were not ſufficient, which default was laid to his account; although the complaint of deficiency was cauſed by the conſiderable tenths, or tythes with which the abbey was taxed, beſides the occaſional diſburſements for repairing, and other proceſſes; in the defraying of which, a part of the revenue was unavoidably employed. He was not moreover looked upon with a favourable eye by the miſſionary Jeſuits, appointed ſince the reign of Henry the Fourth, to preach on all feſtivals, and on Sundays in the abbey-church in this town, which, in deſpite of ſuch political precaution of the fathers, has continued ever ſince to be entirely inhabited by Proteſtants, without there being one inſtance to be quoted of a ſingle Huguenot's being made a convert to the Romiſh perſuaſion.

LETTER VII.

To Abbé de Guaſco, *at* Turin.

I AM very glad to learn, my dear friend, that the letter which I gave you for our ambaſſador has rendered Turin agreeable to you, and made it to compenſate in ſome manner for the harſh treatment you had met with from the Marquis d'Ormea *. I was very certain that Mr. de Sennectere and his lady would be very well pleaſed with your acquaintance, and that from the moment they ſhould be made to know, who you are, they would receive you with open arms. I commiſſion you, Sir, to aſſure them how gratefully ſenſible I am of the very obliging regard with which they have honoured my recommendation. I alſo congratulate you on the pleaſure which you will have in travelling with the Count of Egmond. He is indeed one of my friends, and one of the nobility for whom I have the greateſt eſteem. I accept of the appointment to ſup with you at his houſe, on your return from Naples. But I am very apprehenſive, that if the war continues, I muſt go, and paſs my time obſcurely at la Brede. The commerce of Guienne will in conſequence be ſoon at its laſt gaſp, becauſe our wines will remain in our cellars, and in that article you know conſiſt all our riches. I foreſee that the proviſional treaty between the courts of Turin and Vienna will deprive us of the Commander de Solar, and in that caſe I ſhall regret Paris leſs. Say a thouſand things for me to the Marquis de Breil. Humanity will be under a laſting obligation to that gentleman for the excellent education which he has

* Miniſter to the king of Sardinia.

given

given to his royal highneſs the Duke of Savoy, of whom I often hear moſt noble inſtances. I own I am not free from the tincture of a pleaſing vanity on this head, by enjoying a completion of that laudable idea which I had formed of this excellent man, when I had the honour of knowing him at Vienna. I ardently wiſh for your return to Paris, before my departure from it, till when I reſerve to myſelf the ſatisfaction of letting you into the ſecret of the temple of Gnidus*. Endeavour to ſettle your family affairs in the beſt manner you can, and aſſign over to a more favourable time all thoughts of a due reparation for miniſterial wrongs done to your houſe. It is in your own upright principles, your prudent conduct, and laudable occupations that you are to ſeek, at the preſent time for arms, conſolation, and reſources. The Marquis d'Ormea is not a man to flinch: and on maturely conſidering the ſituation of affairs at your court now, there would be but little attention paid to your repreſentations. The ambaſſador ſalutes you; his eyes begin to be opened, and to ſee his female friend in a point of light, to which I have ſomewhat contributed, and am not diſpleaſed with myſelf for ſo doing: becauſe this made him out an ugly and diſhonourable figure, —adieu.—

Paris, 1742.

* The preſident had made a preſent of this work to the Abbé, on taking leave of him at Turin, without telling who was the author. But he has told him ſince with this farther information, that it was the execution of an idea which has been ſuggeſted to him in the company of Mademoiſelle de Clermont, Princeſs of the Blood, whom he had the honour of frequently viſiting; and that the ſole intent of it was to make a poetical picture of pleaſure.

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LETTER VIII.

To the Count *of* Guaſco, *Colonel of Foot.*

I WAS charmed, my dear Count, on receiving a proof of your kind remembrance, in the letter which your brother ſent to me. Madam de Tencin and other perſons to whom I have paid your compliments, have commiſſioned me to aſſure you with what acknowledging ſenſibility they have been accepted. I am ſorry that it is not in my power to ſatisfy your curioſity concerning the letters, of the lady our friend. It is a ſecret * that I am under a promiſe of not revealing.

The confidence with which you are pleaſed to honour me, demands, that I declare frankly my mind on the intereſting ſubject of your letter. I am not to conceal from you that I have communicated it to Commander de Solar, whom you are to look upon as one of your friends. We both concur in opinion, that the offers made by M. de Belle-Iſle, in order to attach you and your brother † to the ſervice of France, are by no means acceptable. After the advantageous reports that have been made of you to him in M. de la Chetardie's letters, it is inconceivable how he could flatter himſelf with the notion of retaining you, by the propoſal of a rank inferior to that you have had under other banners. I do not know upon what is founded the report that

* On the day of Madam de Tencin's death, Preſident Monteſquieu on going out of his antichamber, ſaid to the brother of Count de Guaſco, who was with him, Now you may write to your brother, that madame de Tenein is authoreſs of the Count de Cominges, and of the ſiege of Calais; which two works ſhe wrote jointly with her nephew, M. de Pontvel. I believe there were only Mr. Fontenelle and I who knew this ſecret.

† Actually a lieutenant-general, and heretofore commander of Dreſden during the laſt war.

in

in France, the military ranks in other countries are not deemed as equivalent to hers. Such a maxim would be neither juſt nor polite, and muſt deprive us of many good officers. I think you have been perfectly right to refuſe joining in his expedition, till you ſhould have previous and ſolid aſſurances from the court of thoſe conditions, it would not be unſeemly in you to comply with. But as you appear to be quite determined on the negative ſide; it were uſeleſs to trouble you with any more reflections upon the ſubject.

The propoſals from the Pruſſian ambaſſador about raiſing a foreign regiment, deſerve a more ſerious attention, ſo that they may ſeem fair to jump in amicably with your finances. But one muſt calculate for futurity, as well as for the preſent. What aſſurance have you, that on the concluſion of a peace, the regiment may not be reformed, and in ſuch a caſe what retribution are you to hope in lieu of the pecuniary advances that you muſt inevitably have made. Beſides, in the point of intereſt, that court cannot be dealt with too cautiouſly.

In regard to the inſinuated advantages that may accrue to you from paſſing over to the ſervice of the new emperor; you are a more competent judge than I can pretend to be, for to decide ſolidly on the affair, and too prudent to let yourſelf be dazzled by any falſe glare. For my part, being not as yet thoroughly convinced of the ſtability of the new political German ſyſtem, I ſhould not incline to found my hopes on a precarious, or perhaps, tranſitory fortune. From what I have ſaid, you muſt perceive that I cannot but approve of the engagements offered to you, from the Auſtrian ſervice. Moreover your firſt inclinations were turned that way, and the example held out to you by ſo many of your countrymen, prove that ſervice to be congenial

to your nation. The adverſe ſtrokes of fortune with which the court of Vienna is now afflicted, I look upon but as temporary diſaſters. Becauſe a great and long eſtabliſhed power, that has a natural and intrinſic energy to ſupply it with reſources, cannot be overturned and reduced in a hurry. Notwithſtanding whatever miſhaps may have befallen it, the military ſervice will be always there upon a more ſolid foundation, than in a newly raiſed and too rapidly ſpreading ſtate. It is more than an even bett, that the court of Turin will make one common cauſe with that of Vienna. Conſequently the motives, which in quitting Piedmont hindred you from entering into the Auſtrian ſervice, are ceaſed in the preſent circumſtances. Nay, I do not ſee a better opportunity for your ſneering at, and triumphing over the inſolent enmity of the Marquis d'Ormea, than by ſerving a court in alliance with his, and where too, conſidering what has been formerly tranſacted, he muſt have no great credit *. But you are prudent and cautious, therefore I ſubmit entirely to your own judgment thoſe conjectures of mine, which a ſincere deſire for your welfare, as well as the diſcuſſion and candour of reaſon, have equally given birth to. I ſhall learn with pleaſure your final reſolution, and am with every aſſurance of reſpect.

Francfort, 1742.

* Under his miniſtry, the court of Turin, in the preceding war, had forſaken its alliance with the court of Vienna, to form a new one with that of France. It is pretended that the Marquis d'Ormea upon this occaſion, had propoſed a premium for a negociation with the court of Vienna; that he ſhould paſs over to its ſervice, and enjoy a conſiderable poſt, of which the emperor Charles the VI. gave notice to the king of Sardinia, by ſending to Turin under another pretext; — The Prince of T—— who was to inform the king, without the miniſter forming the leaſt ſurmiſe about his real commiſſion.

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LETTER IX.

To the Abbé de Guaſco.

THE Abbé Venuti has informed me, dear Sir, of the great affliction you have ſuffered for the loſs of your deceaſed friend, Prince Cantimir; as well as of the intended project to make a tour into our ſouthern provinces for the recovery of your health. Whitherſoever you go, you will find friends to fill up the place of him you have loſt. But, alas, Ruſſia will not ſo readily ſupply an ambaſſador of equal merit with the late Prince Cantimir. I join with Abbé Venuti in urging the execution of your project. The air, the grapes, the wine produced on the banks of the Garonne; and, above all, the native pleaſantry of the Gaſcoons, are excellent antidotes againſt melancholy. I exult in the idea of conducting you to my country ſeat, at la Brede, where, to ſay the truth, you will ſee but an old gothic caſtle, yet with an exterior pleaſingly decorated, and of which I took the idea in England. Now, Sir, as you are a gentleman of taſte, I mean to conſult you about thoſe articles I intend adding to it. But there is a more important ſubject which I propoſe conſulting you upon, and that is my grand work *, that now advances with gigantic ſtrides, ſince I am no longer haraſſed with pariſian invitations to toilſome dinners and fatiguing ſuppers. I with much ſatisfaction obſerve my ſtomach to be better in conſequence; and I hope that the ſober courſe of life, which you ſhall lead with me, will prove the moſt powerful ſpecific againſt all your preſent ills. I expect your arrival here in the approaching autumn, and long moſt fervently to embrace you.

Bourdeaux, Auguſt, 1744.

* L'Eſprit des loix, the Spirit of Laws.

LET-

LETTER X.

To the Same.

WE ſhall ſet out, my learned friend, on Monday next; I rely upon your making one of the party.—Altho' I cannot make room for you in my poſt-chaiſe, becauſe I am to take Madame de Monteſquieu with me; I ſhall furniſh you with horſes. One of them moves as eaſily as a boat on a ſmooth canal, or as a Venetian gondola, or as a bird that ſkims through the air. Exerciſe on horſeback is ſaid to be very good for ailments of the breaſt. The celebrated Sydenham, England's Hippocrates, recommends it highly. And we have had among us a great phyſician, who, through a perſevering zeal for the ſuperior efficacy of his remedy, died on horſeback. We ſhall ſojourn at la Brede until St. Martin's Feſtival.—There we will ſtudy, will walk, will plant trees, will lay out meadows—Adieu, dear Abbé, I embrace you with all my heart.

Bourdeaux, September 30th, 1745.

LETTER XI.

To the Same.

I SHALL be in town the day after to-morrow. Accept not of any invitation to dine on Friday next, for I have engaged for your going to Preſident Barbot's. You muſt be there preciſely at ten o'clock in the morning, as we are to begin a reading of the grand work * which you have heard of. We propoſe alſo to continue the reading after dinner. There will be none other preſent but you, my ſon,

* The Spirit of Laws.

and

and the preſident. You will have an uncontrolled liberty to judge and to cenſure *.

I have ſent your anacreontic production to my daughter. It is a charming piece, and muſt prove very flattering to her. I have read alſo your new year's gift or epiſtle in the Petrarch-manner, to Madame de Pontac †. It is enriched with moſt pleaſing ideas. Why, my dear Abbé, you are a poet, and yet by your conduct it ſeems as if you do not know it.—Adieu.

La Brede, Feb. 10, 1745.

LETTER XII.

To the Counteſs de Pontac.

From Clerac to Bourdeaux.

YOU are moſt obligingly amiable, madam, to have taken the trouble of writing on the marriage of my daughter ‡. Both ſhe and I are moſt devotedly yours. We both moſt gratefully entreat a continuation of that kindneſs on your part, which is an honour to us. I have been told that the ju-

* He was moſt amenable to critical remarks, for on the moment that any word, phraſe, or paſſage was objected to, he did not heſitate to correct, alter, or elucidate, and in fine to remove every the leaſt appearance of a difficulty.

† A lady at Bourdeaux, as conſpicuous for her wit, and connections with literary perſons, as ſhe had been formerly for her beauty.

‡ He had juſt married his daughter to M. de Secondat of Agen, gentleman, and a branch of his family, with a view of continuing the eſtate in his houſe in caſe that his ſon, who had been married for ſeveral years, ſhould continue to have no children. Mademoiſelle de Monteſquieu was a very great aſſiſtant to her father in his compoſing the Spirit of Laws, by the daily lectures of books ſhe made to him, thereby to eaſe his ſtipendiary reader. The authors the leaſt inviting to be read, ſuch as Beaumanoir, Joinville, and others of that ſpecies, did not diſguſt her. She uſed to divert herſelf with them, and often to infuſe a pleaſantry into her lectures, by repeating the words that appeared the moſt ridiculous.

rats * have ſent an embroidered velvet purſe filled with jettons or counters to Abbé Venuti. I did not think them capable even of ſuch an act of politeneſs. There is nothing important in ſuch a preſent but its being that of a great city. In Italy, perhaps, ſuch a tributary compliment might give an additional conſequence to his fame; but it is already too well eſtabliſhed to need any ſuch aſſiſtance.

You will be ſo good as to tell Abbé de Guaſco, that I cannot comprehend what kind of echoes they are that could convey to the Mercury of Paris the verſes † which had been compoſed in the wood of la Brede. I am very angry not to have known it earlier, becauſe I ſhould have given this ſonnet as a part of my daughter's dowry. I have the honour to be, madam, with the moſt profound reſpect.

LETTER XIII.

To Mr. Cerati.

I FIND, Sir, by your letter that you are ſafely arrived at Piſa. Since you ſay nothing about your eyes, I am induced to think that they are become better, and gather new ſtrength every day. I wiſh it moſt devoutly, in order that you may paſs through life agreeably, both for your own ſatisfaction and the happineſs of your friends. You ſtrenuouſly adviſe me to publiſh.——I as ardently adviſe you to do the ſame, and to favour the world with thoſe admi-

* Title of the firſt magiſtrates of the city of Bourdeaux. They made this preſent to Abbé Venuti, as a tributary acknowledgment in behalf of their fellow citizens, for the inſcriptions, and other compoſitions, which this gentleman had made on the occaſion of the rejoicings at Bourdeaux, at the Dauphineſs, daughter of the king of Spain's paſſing through that city.

† The ſame that have been mentioned in the preceding letter.

rable,

rable reflections which you muſt have made in the different regions that you have ſeen and examined. There are numbers of people who pay for poſt-horſes and run through provinces; there are but few travellers, and ſcarcely one ſuch as you. Tell Abbé Nicolini that he is indebted to us a journey to France, and how ſincerely I am his friend.

How proud ſhould I be to have you both at my country ſeat at la Brede, there to enjoy ſuch converſations as the triflingneſs and folly of Paris ſo rarely admit of. I have informed Abbé Venuti that his medals are ſold. I have with me Abbé de Guaſco, who proves a faithful companion. He has commiſſioned me to preſent his compliments to you.

Italy muſt certainly be a charming place, ſince ſo many powers are ſo deſirous of having it. There are now no leſs than five armies ſtruggling for a poſſeſſion of the tempting prize. In our province of Guienne no ſuch thing happens; for there indeed no no other armies are to be ſeen but armies of men of buſineſs, that ſtrive truly to make a conqueſt of it in their way, and which they more effectually do, than Count de Gages can compleat his intended ſucceſs. I ſuppoſe many ſneering remarks are now made on the huge periwig of Marquis d'Ormea. I ſhall not go to Paris for a year to come at ſooneſt. I have no money to ſupport me in a city that delights in devouring the provinces, and pretends to ſupply us with all ſorts of pleaſure, by making us forget what true life is. During the two years elapſed that I am retreated hither, I have cloſely applied myſelf to the work you mention *. But my life advances, and the work recoils, on account of its immenſity. You may rely on your being among

* The Spirit of Laws.

the firſt that ſhall receive news of its final completion. I am informed that the paper I write on begins to fail me. I therefore conclude, and preſent you with a thouſand embraces.

Bourdeaux, Jan. 26, 1745.

LETTER XIV.

To Abbé de Guaſco *at* Clerac.

YOU have gueſſed right; for within theſe three days I have done the work of three months; ſo that if you come this way in the month of April, I ſhall be able to furniſh you with the commiſſion you are ſo deſirous of executing for me in Holland, and according to the plan we have agreed upon. I am now thoroughly inſtructed in what I have to do. Out of thirty articles I will give you twenty-ſix, and while you are working at them on your part, I will prepare to ſend to you the other four. Father Deſmolets told me, that he has found a bookſeller to deal with you for your manuſcript copy of Satires *; but nobody will bid for your learned diſſertation, becauſe there is a certainty of a good ſale for every work bearing the name of Satires, but ſcarce any hope of ſelling learned diſſertations.——Your Cenſor is dead, but that is a loſs I can eaſily put up with, ſince the attacked author is ſtill alive. It but ill becomes you, Sir, to reproach me for not having ſent any news to you, eſpecially who have never made the leaſt mention to me of the marriage of Mademoiſelle Mimi, nor of my vintage at Clerac, which muſt certainly turn out leſs profitable this year than it otherwiſe would, on account

* Ruſtic ſatires of prince Cantimir.

of

of the vaſt havock you make among the grapes of my vineyard. Lord Morthon's * affair is not like to turn out ſo dangerous, as was at firſt thought by the public, exaſperated againſt the Engliſh by the preſent war. Father Deſmolets has had no bickerings with thoſe of his congregation; inaſmuch as he does not wear a wig †. He complains of your ſending him too many commiſſions. I apply to you the porcupine's motto, *cominus, eminus.* — Father Deſmolets declares, that you have more affairs upon your hands, than if you were going to make the conqueſt of Provence.—Pray obſerve, Sir, it is he ſays it, not I.—While you are at Clerac be careful of three things; to preſerve your eyes, to defend yourſelf from the gallantry of M. de la Mire, and to avoid quotations from St. Auſtin in your controverſial diſputes. I envy Madame de Monteſquieu the happineſs ſhe will enjoy on ſeeing you again.—Adieu —and imagine I embrace you.

Paris, 1746.

LETTER XV.

To the Same.

I DO not know what tour the letter may have made which you directed to me at Barege.—It came to hand but within theſe few days. I have been ſhocked to hear the tumultuous behaviour of M. le Chevalier D'****. This pretended Governor of Barege is a ridiculous man. The cordonbleu (blue

* This Lord having come to Paris during the war, was ſent a priſoner to the Baſtile.

† In the general chapter held by the congregation of the Oratorians, a ſpiritual war was declared againſt the appeal to the Bull Unigenitus, and the wearing wigs made of goats hair, which ſome made uſe of inſtead of large calots, or leather caps.

ribband) muſt have cauſed ſtrange revolutions in his head. When I ſhall ſee him in Paris, I will not fail aſking him if you have made a great progreſs in politics by reading his Gazettes. I have related here the groundleſs quarrel he ſtarted againſt you, and at the ſame time ſeriouſly obſerved how extraordinary it was, that a man, born in the States of Sardinia, ſhould be ſo anxiouſly diſquieted on that monarch's having the ſmall pox, or being attached through two brothers to the court of Vienna, ſhould appear ſo deeply afflicted by any miſhaps that befall it. Learn from me, my good friend, that certain lordly perſonages are never to be diſputed with after dinner. You acted according to the dictates of prudence, in writing to him the next morning. Your letter is worthy of you, and I am charmed to hear of his being diſarmed by it. You have now ample cauſe to exult in having triumphed over one of our Lieutenant-Generals, without the aid of any perſon, and that on the anniverſary day of St. Lewis too.

Let me know if you are to accompany Madame de Monteſquieu to Clerac, becauſe my work * advances; but if you ſhould take the oppoſite road, let me know whither I can forward to you the part that is ſoon to be ready. I hope that your ambitious and aſpiring trip to the Pike in the ſouth, will turn out of more happy event than your hunting after the amiantus, or your fiſhing for trouts in the lake of the Pyrenean Mountains. I obſerve, my good Sir, that difficult enterprizes have great charms for you; and that you are more impelled thereto by mental curioſity, than by bodily ſtrength. Remember that your eyes are but little better than mine. Leave it then to my ſon, who has good ones, to clamber up to the tops of mountains, there to

* The Spirit of Laws.

make

make reſearches for the extending of natural hiſtory. But preſerve yours for neceſſary things alone. If you have been looked upon as a dangerous politician, becauſe you love to read Gazettes; you now run the riſk of paſſing for a ſorcerer, if you be ſeen climbing to the ſummits of craggy rocks. Farewell.

Paris, Auguſt, 1746.

LETTER XVI.

To the Same.

I HAVE read, learned Sir, your diſſertation upon pleaſure, and am certain that I ſhall adorn your head with a ſecond laurel crown from my garden, if you be at la Brede, as I hope you will, when the academy ſhall have decided in your favour. The ſubject is beautiful, vaſt, intereſting, and you have treated it in a maſterly manner. I am pleaſed to ſee you in idea hunting on my ground,—You!—and who would not be ſo on ſeeing ſuch a ſportſman?

There are two articles in your diſſertation which I wiſh you would clear up. The firſt is, that according as the text now ſtands, one might be induced to believe, you rank Carthage after the ſecond Punic war, as among the autonomous cities ſubject to the Roman empire. You muſt very well know, that ſhe then continued to be a free ſtate and intirely independant. The ſecond objection relates to what you ſay concerning the title of Eleutherian; you indicate no difference between the towns that took this title, and thoſe which took that of Autonomous. You have touched but ſlightly on an affair, which merits to be ſeriouſly cleared up. You cannot be ignorant that there are ſolemn debates

upon this ſubject, and that in the ſenſe of many learned men, Eleutherian ſignifies ſomething more than Autonomous. I adviſe you to conſider this affair attentively, and on its account to give ſome additional matter to your diſſertation. I have had a berlin made on purpoſe, that you may be carried with more eaſe and convenience to Clerac, a place you love ſo much. We ſhall have no more diſputes about uſury, and that will gain you two hours a day. My meadows want you, and the ſmart lively ſervant * never ceaſes to ſay, "O now if the Abbé were here." I anſwer for that lad's being very docile to your inſtructions; he will make as many trenches to carry off the water as you pleaſe. Let me know if I may flatter myſelf with the hope of your coming along the Guierne; becauſe in that caſe I may now profit of an opportunity that preſents itſelf of ſending directly my manuſcript to the printer †.

In order to enjoy you myſelf, I releaſe you from your promiſe, and the readier, ſince the impreſſion of the work is not now to be made in Holland, much leſs in England, becauſe ſhe being an enemy we are to carry on no exchange of commerce with her, but that of cannon-balls. The Piedmonteſe are by no means in the ſame predicament, becauſe we are not to look upon ourſelves as in a ſtate of warfare with each other; and if we beſiege their forts, and they make our battalion priſoners ‡ there is no harm meant on either ſide; and it is done only by way of military amuſement. Therefore you can have no cogent reaſons for leaving us. You will be always

* The principal labourer at the country ſeat of M. de Monteſquieu.

† It is here, as ſo often already, the Spirit of Laws, to which M. de Monteſquieu alludes.

‡ This paſſage glances at the affair of Aſti, where nine French battalions were made priſoners by the king of Sardinia.

received

received as a friend in Guienne. I thank you for having ſpoken of me to the Sereniſſimo, and am much flattered with his obliging remembrance of my having paid my court to him at Modena. I will ſend you one of my books, which you requeſt, for him. You will find herewith ſubjoined the notes, but rather obſcuring than elucidating *, which are ſent to you by the chapter of Cominges. You muſt be very ſimple, and unexperienced, my dear Abbé, to imagine that the members of a chapter ever give themſelves the trouble of making literary reſearches; it is not I, but my brother who is dean of a chapter, that gives you the friendly advice of addreſſing yourſelf to better hands. Let not that however retard your hiſtory of Clement V. †; you have promiſed it to our academy; return and you will work much more at your eaſe upon the tomb of this pope ‡. I deſire that you will not omit the article of Bruniſſende ‖, for I apprehend that you are too timorous to treat of this affair, and therefore deſire no more than your diſpatching it in a note. Your reſearches will make you read the works of learned men; and a touch of gallantry will make you read the works of thoſe who are not. I have ſent your medal to Bourdeaux, with orders to deliver it to M. Tourni, that he may forward it to the intendant of Languedoc. My dear Sir, this affair is attended with two difficulties, the one is to come at the

* They related to the hiſtory of Clement de Gout, who was biſhop of Cominges, afterwards archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, and ſince pope.

† This hiſtory has never appeared.

‡ The tomb of this pope is in the collegiate church of Uſeſſe, near Bazas, where he was buried in a lordſhip belonging to the family of de Gout.

‖ Some hiſtorians have advanced that Bruniſſende, counteſs of Perigord, was the miſtreſs of Clement, when he was archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, and that he continued to diſtinguiſh her with marks of favour during his papacy.

medal;

medal; and the other, that the medal ſhould come to you. Adieu, I reſpect you, I ſigh for you, and in the mean time preſent the friendly effuſions of my heart.

LETTER XVII.

To the Same.

MY dear Abbé, I have hitherto ſpoken to you but of vague matters, but now I come to things of a more preciſe nature. I am anxious to publiſh my work as ſoon as poſſible. I ſhall begin to-morrow to give the laſt hand to the firſt volume, that is to the firſt thirteen books, and I think you may receive them in about five or ſix weeks. As I have very ſtrong reaſons to have nothing to do in this affair with Holland, and much leſs with England, I intreat that I may be let to know if you perſevere in the reſolution, to make the tour of Switzerland before you viſit the two other countries: becauſe in that caſe you muſt depart immediately from the delightful climate of Languedoc. I ſhall ſend my packet to Lyons, which you will find ready as you paſs through that city. I leave you to your own free choice, Geneva, Soleure, or Baſle. While you are continuing your voyage, and the printing of the firſt volume, being commenced and proceeded on, I ſhall apply myſelf cloſely to a completion of the ſecond volume; and that I ſhall forward to you according to your directions when you ſhall pleaſe to ſend them. This will conſiſt of ten books, and the following of ſeven. They will be volumes in 4to. I wait for your anſwer upon this ſubject, and to be ſure of your ſetting off directly, without your ſtopping at either right or left. I moſt ardently wiſh

that

that my work may be honoured with a god-father ſuch as you. Adieu, my dear friend, and think that I embrace you.

Paris, December 6, 1746.

LETTER XVIII.

To the Same.

MY letter to which I have received your anſwer, has produced a quite different effect from what I expected; it has expedited, it ſeems, your departure, inſtead (as I relied on) of making you tarry, to receive ſome news of my manuſcript having been ſent off; that was at leaſt the literal and ſpiritual ſenſe of my letter. But having heard ſince that time of the Auſtrian army's paſſing the Var, I began to reflect that you were a Piedmonteſe, that therefore it muſt be very diſagreeable to a man who thinks only of his favourite books, his choſen ſtudies, and not at all of the affairs of princes, to be in a ſtrange country during ſuch circumſtances as the preſent, and that therefore you might take it into your head to repair to your own country, and the more ſo, if the report be true that your friend the Marquis d'Ormea is dead or out of favour *. I told our common friend Gendron, the diſagreeable ſituation into which ſuch an event muſt have plunged you, and he is quite of the ſame opinion with me. We hoped indeed that at the concluſion of a peace, you might enjoy with more tranquillity the ſweets of France, a country which you love, and where

* Both articles were true; for this miniſter perceiving that his influence at court diminiſhed daily, he fell into a ſlow and conſumptive malady, of which he expired in the midſt of tortures and agonizing groans.

you

you are much beloved. Perhaps, my dear friend, I have puſhed my ſcruples too far on a certain article; but in that I rely upon your prudence and wiſdom. Moreover, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, I do not think it proper for me, to ſend my book to be printed; and the more ſo, becauſe I am uncertain what part you will take. If you think of remaining in France, I doubt not but you will reviſit the Garonne, and write another diſſertation, in order to obtain a new premium from the academy of inſcriptions. In that you will imitate the Abbé le Beuf * (or Ox) without being ſo heavy an ox as he. Farewell, I embrace you with all my heart.

Paris, December 24, 1746.

LETTER XIX.

To the ſame Abbé de Guaſco.

YOU have been true to your word, Sir; ſent me the extract of my letter: wherein are ſome articles of no value. I had written to you that I ſhould ſend you a part of my work, but on the condition, that on receipt thereof, you ſhould not be amuſed from it by any other purſuits; now, Sir, what is the nature of your proceeding relative to this contract? Why truly without waiting for the arrival of, you have wantonly ſet out on your ſeveral excurſionary tours of curioſity. My opinion is, that when the ſyſtem of the metempſychoſis takes place in you, your next

* The Abbe le Beuf was a prebendary of Auxerre, and a member of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres. He obtained two or three premiums from this academy. His diſſertations abound with uſeful reſearches, but are very heavily written. The play upon his name cannot be made to ſound ſo well in Engliſh as in French. *Vous miterez en cela L'Abbé le Beuf, mais vous ne ſerez pas auſi Beuf que lui.*

appearance

appearance on our globe, will be in the perſon of a profeſt traveller—I adviſe you to get yourſelf cured of this folly.—But from ſuch whims let us now turn to matters of more importance.

In three months hence, you ſhall receive from me fifteen or twenty books that need only to be read anew, and copied again; by which means, of five parts you will have received three, which are to conſtitute the firſt volume: I then ſhall proceed to work upon the ſecond volume, which you may expect to receive about two or three months after. If you have no excurſions, either literary or gallant to make in Languedoc, you would do well to reſume your poſt of confeſſor to Mademoiſelle de Monteſquieu, or that of penitent to the Biſhop of Agen.

But whatever may be your deſtination, and in whatever place you will point out to me, I ſhall ſend to you at the end of April, the firſt volume.—If you think it may be neceſſary to have a paſſport from our court, let me be your laſt reſource, becauſe in my opinion, it is better to employ the intereſt of Mr. Le Nain, or Mr. de Tourni—What I ſay is not an evaſive pretext, from rendering you all the ſervice I can, but from a certain knowledge that intendants have more power in that quarter, than a preſident who does not act in office. I embrace you with all my heart.

Paris, February 20, 1747.

LETTER XX.

To the Same.

I HAVE ſpoken to M. de Boze, who ſent me off in an aukward, and unpolite manner, ſaying forſooth,

forſooth, that he did not meddle in ſuch buſineſs, and that the proper perſons to be applied to were Mr. Freret *, and the Count de Maurepas. He ſarcaſtically obſerved, that it was the common phrenzy of all thoſe who had obtained a premium, to think they ought to be forthwith admitted as members of the academy. In my opinion he has ſomebody elſe in view. I ſpoke on the ſame day to Mr. Du Clos, who ſeems to be very well inclined, but then remember he is but one of the laſt. There is no way of ſecuring Mr. de Maurepas' intereſt, but through the Dutcheſs of Aiguillon your favourite muſe. If I propoſe it to her, it is morally certain that ſhe will do nothing in the affair. But if you write to her yourſelf, ſhe will ſpeak to me upon the ſubject, then I ſhall ſay ſuch things as will make her your ſanguine patroneſs. If you ſhould win another premium, that would ſmooth all difficulties. Father Deſmolets told me, that you are at work; ſo am I: but my work goes on heavy.

The Chevalier Caldwell has informed me by letter, that you were tempted to accompany him into Egypt, to which I made anſwer that it was, no doubt with a deſign of ſeeing your brethren the mummies. His adventure at Toulouſe is very laughable †. It ſeems that in this city, the folks are as fanatically mad in political as religious affairs.

* Then perpetual ſecretary of the Academy.

† The Chevalier Caldwell, an Iriſh gentleman, having ſtopt for ſome time at Toulouſe, uſed to amuſe himſelf with catching birds out of the city. As he was obſerved to go out early in the morning, and ramble about the city followed by a little boy, that often held in his hand paper and a pencil, the capitouls (chief magiſtrates of that city) ſuſpected in their great wiſdoms, that he was thus buſied in taking the plan of Toulouſe, at a time too when France was at war with England. They had him arreſted in conſequence; and as on ſearching his pockets, there was found a drawing of the machine employed by him in learning to catch birds, and ſeveral cards, beſides a catalogue of words on them, which were the names of birds, that the

Preſent my reſpectful compliments to the firſt preſident M. Bon.* The firſt phyſical production I had ever ſeen, was a treatiſe upon Spiders, written by him. I have always looked upon him as one of the moſt learned perſonages in France. His example firſt inſpired me with a noble emulation, ſeeing that he had joined ſuch a conſummate knowledge of his own profeſſion, with that of other callings. Aſſure him of my ſincere thanks for all the marks of kindneſs, with which he was pleaſed to favour me. I had alſo the honour of knowing Mr. Le Nain †, at La Rochelle, to which place I went to ſee the Count of Matignon. I pray you will call up anew to his memory, the ſincerity of my reſpect towards him. It is reported here, that by his prudent and œconomical diſpoſitions, he has baniſhed the enemy from Provence. Your bill of exchange is not yet arrived, but only a letter of advice. You ſee, Sir, what it is to have a quick and lively feeling; you have ſent Mr. Jude almoſt breathleſs for a thing, that he might have proceeded in queſt of, with all his wonted and ſolemn gravity. Adieu! I embrace you with all my heart.

Paris, March 1, 1747.

the examiners did not underſtand, becauſe written in Engliſh. This confirmed their every ſurmiſe of an hoſtile intention, and the ſuſpected Caldwell was put into confinement, until ſuch time as that he ſhould make his innocence known; the great abſurdity of ſuch a ſuſpicion appears, and laſted until ſuch time too, as ſomebody was found bold enough to be bail, and anſwer for his good conduct.—The cream of the jeſt is, that Toulouſe is not a fortified place.

* Firſt preſident of the Court of Aides at Montpellier, counſellor of ſtate, and member of the Academy of Sciences. He diſcovered the ſecret of ſpinning the webs of ſpiders, and making ſtockings thereof; and alſo of extracting drops from them equal to thoſe uſed in England againſt the apoplexy. He alſo diſcovered the means of rendering the Indian cheſnuts uſeful, in feeding ſwine, and making a powder of them.—He had a very curious cabinet of antiquities.

† The intendant of Languedoc.

LET-

LETTER XXI.

To Mr. Cerati.

I HAVE received, Sir, my illuſtrious friend being at Paris, the letter for which I am obliged to your friendſhip. You do not make any mention of your health, and I ſhould be glad to have a better guarantee for it than mere negative proofs. You have inſerted one article in your letter, which I have read over ſeveral times with a glowing pleaſure, and which is that where you ſay, you feel a ſtrong deſire of paſſing two years at Paris, and that from thence you might probably ſtretch as far as Bourdeaux. Theſe are very agreeable ideas; and on my part I have formed the project of going ſome time or other to Piſa, in order to correct my work with you; and where can I meet with a ſounder judgment than yours? The war has ſo perplexed me, that I have been obliged to paſs three years and an half on my eſtate, in the country: thence I returned to Paris. But if the war ſhould ſeem likely to continue much longer, I will betake me again to my rural retreat, and there ſhut myſelf up ſnugly in my philoſophical ſhell, until the return of peace. It ſeems indeed to me, that all the princes of Europe are deſirous of a peace; if ſo, they are pacific. No, not they — for there cannot be any pacific princes, but thoſe who are willing to ſacrifice ſomething for the ſake of peace; as no man can be called generous, who cannot on a proper occaſion yield up a part of his intereſt; and no man can be deemed charitable who does not know when to give. To diſpute too rigorouſly about matters of intereſt

intereſt and property, is the ſpunge of every virtue. You do not make any mention of your eyes; mine are preciſely in the ſame ſituation, as when you left me. I have at laſt diſcovered that a cataract is formed on the good eye, which Mr. Gendron, my *Fabius Maximus*, tells me is of a benign diſpoſition, and that he will ſoon open the window-ſhutter. However, I have deſired that the operation may be put off until the next ſpring; for which reaſon I ſhall paſs the winter here.—To mend the matter, that excellent man, our good friend Gendron, is in very good health, and we frequently ſay to each other, "Have you lately received any news from M. Cerati?"——He is as gay as ever, and reaſons as well.——

A propos, I had like to have forgotten to inform you, that on my arrival at Paris, I found that city happily delivered from the preſence of the greateſt fool, coxcomb, and moſt diſagreeable peſt of ſociety that I had ever known. His voyage to England, has procured to me four or five months quiet breathing in Paris; and moſt luckily for me ſince his return hither, I have ſeen him but once, and that on the night before my departure for the country, with the moſt devout and zealous wiſh of never ſeeing him more.—You muſt very well know, that by this ſketch, I can mean no other perſon but the Marquis de Loc-Maria, whoſe unparalleled faculty of tiring is more than ſufficient to torture, not only the human race, but to add to the ſufferings of thoſe in hell, in purgatory, and make even the inhabitants of Paradiſe unhappy.

The work you know, is to make its appearance in five volumes, to which hereafter may be added a ſixth by way of ſupplement; of which whenever it may happen, you ſhall have early notice. I am

quite broken down with fatigue; I now propoſe enjoying the ſweets of reſt the remainder of my life. Adieu, dear Sir, I hope you will always preſerve a warm place for me in your remembrance: And on my ſide I ſhall ever think on you with the tendereſt ſentiments of friendſhip, therefore conclude with all poſſible reſpect.

LETTER XXII.

To Abbé de Guaſco, *at* Aix.

VICTORIOUS Abbé, I announce to you, your ſucceſs in having obtained a ſecond triumph at the Academy *. I have not made any mention of your affairs to Madame D'Aiguillon, that lady having ſet off with lightning-ſpeed for Bourdeaux: Her thoughts are now all engroſſed about her freehold affair; to which every other conſideration muſt give way for the preſent, even that of the moſt valued friends.

I manifeſt to you at the ſame time, that at the beginning of the next month, the work in queſtion will be ready to be copied. I am almoſt of a mind to publiſh it in twelves, which I ſhall ſend to you. It will amount to five diſtinct volumes in the copy. Be pleaſed to let me know what addreſs I am to write on your packet; I expect an anſwer from you before it can be finiſhed, wherefore you are not to let ſlip any time before you write to me, and let me know where you ſhall be all the month of June. I am glad to hear that your health meliorates; for

* The ſubject for the premium propoſed by the Academy, was to explain in what conſiſted the nature and the extent of the Autonomy that was enjoyed by cities under ſubjection to a foreign power.

your

your quincey had alarmed me much. Adieu, dear Sir.

Paris, May 4, 1747.

LETTER XXIII.

I AM on the wing, as well as you, my dear friend, and ready to ſet off for Lorraine with Madame de Mirepoix; I addreſs this letter to Mr. le Nain. There muſt have been ſomething wrongly expreſſed in my letter to him. I meant only to ſay, there was every appearance of your becoming a member of the academy, but not that you were actually one. I make no doubt of a place being granted to you on your being preſented to the academy, in conſequence of this ſecond victory. I thought I had already informed you of my having ſent your ſecond medal to the care of Mr. Dalnet at Bourdeaux, and he being worth two or three millions of currency in our French livres, I thought I could not have made a better choice to depoſit your treaſure with. Your letter has quite confounded and put me out of my bias, ſeeing you to be thus involved in a variety of undertakings that would require an age for their completion; and that beſides, one does not know where certainly to find you, in the circle of ten or twelve cities or towns, whoſe names you have recited; ſeeing alſo that in thoſe places where I was obliged to apply for the printing of my work, on account of the preſent war, you might not find all the conveniencies neceſſary; I have ſeized on an occaſion * that has preſented itſelf to me, and that I thought

* Mr. Saraſin Reſident from Geneva, who was returning to his own country, and through whoſe hands the author ſent a manuſcript of the Spirit of Laws to Mr. Barillot, a printer in that city.

I thought would prove more agreeable to you than to break the chain of your intended voyages. My wiſh of preference is, that you would take the road to Bourdeaux. If you can be there next autumn, or in the ſpring following, I ſhall ſee you with the greateſt pleaſure. I rely upon your accepting an apartment in my houſe, and promiſe that I ſhall not treat with my uſual familiarity, a gentleman who has triumphed twice in the academy. Farewell, dear Abbé; I embrace you a thouſand times.

Paris, May 30, 1747.

LETTER XXIV.

To the Same.

I HAD the honour of writing to you, my dear Abbé, whoſe letter tells me nothing but what is very true, in mentioning the difficulties which you ſhould meet with in this affair, beſides the ſeveral voyages, commenced, projected, and to be put in excution; and that conſideration has made me to profit of a very favourable opportunity that preſented itſelf, and which reſcues you from a great deal of trouble.

I am now to tell you, that for the preſent I thought proper to retrench the chapter on the Stadtholderſhip. In the now-critical ſituation of affairs, it might undergo the diſgrace of an unfavourable reception in France*. And I am reſolved to decline every cauſe

Profeſſor Vernet took upon himſelf the care of inſpecting the edition, in which he thought he might be allowed the liberty of altering ſome words; at ſuch a wanton meaſure, the author was much piqued, and cauſed the diſcarded words to be reinſtated in the Paris edition.

* The author ſhews in this chapter the neceſſity of a ſtadtholder as an integral part of the conſtitution of that republic. But England had brought

cauſe for altercation or chicanery. But that ſhall be no hindrance of my giving it to you hereafter for the Italian tranſlation which you have undertaken to perform, as ſoon as my book is printed, I will take care that you ſhall have one of the firſt copies. You will find it much more commodious to tranſlate from the printed, than the manuſcript copy.

I have been whelmed with civilities, acts of politeneſs, and honours done to me at the court of Lorraine. I have enjoyed moſt delightful moments, in converſation with King Staniſlaus. It is very probable that I ſhall be at Bourdeaux before the end of Auguſt. In the interval, until my return you ſhould go and viſit Madame de Monteſquieu at Clerac. I ſhall not fail ſending to you the two copies of the new edition of my romances which I have promiſed to you; one for his Serene Highneſs, and the other for M. le Nain. Farewell, I embrace you with all my heart.

LETTER XXV.

To the Same.

I ASK pardon for having amuſed you with falſe hopes of my return. Particular buſineſs by which I am detained in Paris, has hindered me from departing hence as ſoon as I had intended, I am now ever on the wing here, like yourſelf, but ſhall nevertheleſs be at Bourdeaux in the beginning of March. In the mean time I muſt pray you to preſent compliments for me, and make my court to the moſt amiable

brought matters about ſo, as to have the Prince of Orange inveſted with that high power, which was by no means agreeable to France, then at war with Britain, becauſe ſhe had profited of the weakneſs of the acephalous government (that is without a head) of the Dutch, to hurry on her conqueſts in Flanders.

Counteſs de Pontac, at whoſe manſion I believe you reſide at preſent, and from which ſeat of inchantment, I hope, you will deign to come to Bourdeaux, where we will diſpute upon politics, on divinity, and I will ſend my book to M. le Nain. There can be no harm in ſending a romance to a counſellor of ſtate *. But for heads like yours, there muſt be provided a more ſolid entertainment, ſuch as is to be found in the thoughts of a Paſcal, although the eighteen or twenty ladies placed to your account in Languedoc and Provence (as I have been informed by Prince Wurtemburg) muſt have greatly changed, and rendered you leſs incredulous, concerning adventurers of gallantry. Your caſe will not be unlike to that of the hermit, whoſe damnation the devil effectuated by ſhewing him a little ſhoe. I always perceived in you a tendency for elegant deſires, and am ſure that in your religious worſhip, you often felt a mutinous rebel in your heart. But let that paſs, you muſt be ſtudious to diveſt yourſelf at Bourdeaux. I will recommend you to the care of my daughter-in-law for that purpoſe.

I ſaw Mr. de Boze the other day, and had a long converſation with him about you. When next you ſhall make your appearance in this part of the world, you will be admitted a member of the academy, through the great gate (that is in a diſtinguiſhed manner.) Yet, nevertheleſs my advice to you, is to write another diſſertation upon the ſubject that is propoſed for the premium of next year, and as this not only is connected with the one you have already treated †, but that you are alſo a perfect maſter

* The temple of Gnidus, which he had ſecretly cauſed to be requeſted of him.

† The ſubject propoſed was, The ſtate of letters in France, under the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. The advice of Mr. de Monteſquieu having

maſter of the ſeries of the ſeveral preceding reigns, you will meet with far leſs difficulties in your preſent reſearches. If the memoirs which I had compoſed on the hiſtory of Lewis XI. had not been burnt *, I could have ſupplied you with ſome materials for this ſubject.

If you are ſo lucky as to be adjudged a third premium, you then will not want the recommendatory aſſiſtance of any perſon, and your reception will in conſequence be the more glorious. You will have as much leiſure time as you pleaſe at Clerac and la Brede, where you will not be diſtracted by either voyages or ladies. You will be quite at home in writing this work, therefore you can execute it with much more eaſe to yourſelf, than any other perſon can. Adieu, I preſent you with a thouſand embraces.

Paris, October 19, 1747.

having been followed, his correſpondent obtained a third premium from the academy. The merit of this diſſertation is unknown, becauſe it is not to be found in the edition of that author's diſſertations printed at Tournay.

* As faſt as he compoſed it he threw it into the fire, the ſeveral compiled memoirs which he had formed, for to aſſiſt him in the progreſs of this work. But his ſecretary made a more cruel ſacrifice to the flames. Having miſunderſtood M. de Monteſquieu's directions to throw into the fire his foul copy of the hiſtory of Lewis the Eleventh; of which he had juſt finiſhed a comparative lecture with that of the fair copy, he blunderingly threw the latter into the fire. And the author next morning, at ſight of the foul copy on his table, threw it into the fire, from a notion that his ſecretary had forgotten to burn it; and by this unlucky accident we are deprived of the hiſtory of one of the moſt intereſting reigns on the annals of the French monarchy, and written too by the pen that was the moſt capable of diſplaying it. This diſaſter did not happen in the laſt malady of M. de Monteſquieu, as M. Freron has advanced in his periodical publications; but in the year 1739, or 1740, becauſe M. de Monteſquieu related this very lamentable event to one of his friends, on the occaſion of an hiſtory of Lewis the Eleventh, publiſhed by M. du Clos, and which did not appear till ſome time after, in the year 1740.

LETTER XXVI.

To the Same.

ALL I can tell you is, that I intend to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for Bourdeaux, and that I hope to have the pleaſure of ſeeing you there. I own that I owe you my thanks for the two little dogs of Bengal, of the ſame race with thoſe of Don Philip, which you are to bring me. But as my thanks ought to be proportioned to the beauty of the dogs I muſt wait to have ſeen them before I can appreciate the words of my compliment. It is not however for blind fellows like you and me to ſuit them properly, I leave that to my huntſman, who in ſuch ſubjects is a very intelligent mortal, as you well know, and conſequently a better judge than either of us can pretend to be.

I have ſent my romance * to M. le Nain, and I think it is not a little extraordinary to have a theologiſt to be the chief panegyriſt of ſo frivolous a work. I am about ſending a copy of the new edition of the Riſe and Fall of the Romans to Prince Edward, who on ſending his manifeſto to me, obſerved it was proper a correſpondence ſhould be kept up among authors, and that therefore he requeſted my works.

I am rendering you all the ſervice I can here.—I have ſpoken of you to the Counteſs de Sennectere, who declares herſelf to be greatly your friend; I did not deſign to ſpeak of you to the mother, for mothers are with you muſty articles, and that have but very little place in your affections. Pray pre-

* The Temple of Gnidus.

ſent

ſent a number of compliments for me to the Counteſs de Pontac: whatever you may ſay in behalf of the daughter, I hold ſtill for the mother. I am not ſo falſely delicate in this article as you are.

Inform Abbé Venuti that I have ſpoken to the Abbé de St. Cyr, who ſays he will attempt another effort with the Biſhop of Mirepoix. I never knew a man who held in higher eſtimation thoſe who adminiſter only the offices of religion, or in leſs thoſe who prove it *.

Mr. Lomellini has told me, that during your ſtay in Languedoc, you were become a citizen of St. Marino †, and one of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators of that republic. I laughed heartily at the news. It could not truly be that qualification which inſpired M. de Belleiſle with ſo violent a deſire of having you along with him on the banks of the Var, becauſe he knew very well that you were the native of another country; and I think you did very wiſely in not accepting of his invitation: Heaven knows what various interpretation would be ſtarted upon ſuch a voyage into your own country.

I ardently wiſh I may find you at Bourdeaux on my return thither, and the more ſo as I want to have your friendly opinion in an affair that concerns me perſonally. My ſon will not take upon him the charge of Preſident de Mortier, which I had long deſtined to be his lot in life.—I therefore muſt either ſell, or reſume the place myſelf. It is upon this alternative that we muſt have ſome conference, before I come

* This glances at an Italian tranſlation of the poem on religion, by the Abbé Venuti.

† What gave riſe to this joke, was a traveller's arriving in Languedoc preciſely at the time when the Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe troops had paſſed the Var. He was aſked of what part in Italy he was a native, to which queſtion he jeſtingly replied, "Of the Republic of St. Marino," a place that has nothing to do with belligerent powers.

to a final determination. I expect from you your ſincere opinion after that I ſhall have candidly diſplayed to you, the reaſons for, or againſt either ſide of the queſtion: contrive matters ſo, as that you may not be long waited for.—Adieu.

Paris, March 28th, 1748.

LETTER XXVII.

To Mr. Cerati.

I HAVE received, Sir, not only with pleaſure, but with infinite joy, your favour thro' the channel of Prince de Craon; but as in the letter there is no mention made of your health, and that you write nevertheleſs, I naturally conclude it to be good, an advantage in which I am ſo much intereſted. Mr. Gendron * is not dead; and I hope you will ſee him again at Paris, walking in his garden, with his little cane, and not breaking out into any expreſſions of admiration, either in behalf of the Jeſuits or phyſicians. But to ſpeak ſeriouſly, it is a happineſs for ſociety, that ſo excellent a man is ſtill alive. What a loſs ſhould you and I have in his death.—He always begins a converſation with me in thoſe words, "have you received any news from M. Cerati?"

Abbé de Guaſco is returned from his tour of Languedoc, or Provence.—You have known him

* He had been phyſician to the late regent, and was the beſt occuliſt at that time in France. He retired to Auteuil, and choſe to reſide in the houſe of Boileau, his former friend, at whoſe deceaſe he purchaſed it. In alluſion to theſe two poſſeſſors, M. de Monteſquieu, as he was walking one day with M. Gendron made a couplet, which he jokingly ſaid, ought to be placed over the grand entrance door, the meaning is.—"In this abode, Apollo, always ready to come to our aſſiſtance, quits the art of rhiming, to practiſe that of curing."

a virtuous

a virtuous man; but like Solomon and David, he too is loſt. The prince of Wurtemburg has informed me, that there are twenty-one ladies enrolled upon his liſt. He ſays, indeed, it is better that number ſhould be aſcribed to him than but one; and perhaps he is in the right. But in the midſt of his vagrant gallantries, he fails not to carry off premiums at the academy; he obtained the one of laſt year; and has lately ſucceeded in winning that of the preſent. In about a fortnight I muſt quit Paris, and ſpend four or five months at my provincial dwelling. I ſhall take Abbé de Guaſco with me to la Brede, that he may perform due penance there, for the late irregularities of his life. Madame Geofrin's houſe is frequented by the beſt company, ſhe is very deſirous that you and I ſhould encreaſe the number.—You will oblige me much, by paying my reſpectful compliments and court to the prince de Craon, and aſſure him that I ſhould deem it one of the moſt brilliant incidents of my life, could I have the happineſs of being for ſome time near him. In the interim, I have the honour of paying my court to one of an exalted character, and nearly of a ſimilar ſtamp, I mean the prince de Beauvais. Believe me he has the proper ſtuff in him, and the materials requiſite for conſtituting a great man. I plume myſelf on forming a juſt and precious judgment of thoſe who are deſtined to run the career of glory, nor have I been much miſtaken.

In regard of my work, I will let you into the ſecret. It is actually printing in a foreign country; this fact I continue to tell you in great ſecrecy. There will be two volumes in quarto, of which one is printed, but will not be publiſhed until the other is ready. Immediately on the fixed time for publication, I will ſend you a ſet, as an homage due to you from my eſtate. I have almoſt exhauſted

myſelf

myſelf for three months paſt, in endeavouring to finiſh a ſhort tract, I mean to add to them, and that will form a book, on the origin and revolution of our civil laws in France.—Although the reading of it would not take up more than three hours time; yet, I aſſure you I have been obliged to work ſo hard upon this intereſting matter, that it has made my hairs become white. In order that my work were complete in all points, it would be neceſſary that I ſhould give two additional books on the feudal laws. I think I have made ſome elucidating diſcoveries upon a topic the moſt obſcure in literary reſearches, but which nevertheleſs affords a more magnificent ſubject. If I can be left quiet for three months, I think I may be able to put a finiſhing hand to theſe two deſirable books, if not, my work muſt go forth without them.

The favour that your friend M. de Hein does me often, to come and paſs the morning with me, is not of the moſt obliging nature, becauſe it proves prejudicial to my work, both by the badneſs of the corrupt French which he ſpeaks, and the irkſome prolixity of his details. He has been juſt now with me, to know if I had received any news from you. He takes up my time unmercifully in complaining of an old malady which he has long laboured under, to wit, a difficulty of making urine; and ſays, that M. le Dran has not been able as yet to cure him. With le Dran he ſeems to be as little ſatisfied as with the Stadtholder.—Pray let me always have ſome ſhare in your friendſhip, nor ever abſolutely conſign to oblivion, a man who loves and honours you,

Paris, March 28, 1748.

LET-

LETTER XXVIII.

To Prince Charles Edward.

MOST illuſtrious Prince, I was at firſt afraid leſt that I ſhould be charged with vanity for the liberty I had taken to preſent you with my work. But to whom, with more propriety, can the Roman heroes be preſented than to him who makes them to revive * in his perſon. I have the honour of being with infinite reſpect.—

LETTER XXIX.

To the Grand Prior Solar, *Ambaſſador from* Malta, *at* Rome.

SIR, and moſt noble commander, your letter has becalmed my ſoul with peace, that before its arrival was perplexed with a multitude of little trifling affairs. If I were with you at Rome, I ſhould think of nothing but content and diverſity of pleaſures; and in the catalogue of my pleaſures would I inſert all your perſecutions of me. I aſſure you, that if my ſtars ſhould incline me to undertake any more voyages, I will go to Rome, and there challenge you to the fulfilling of your promiſe. I will inſiſt on having a ſmall chamber in your houſe. Rome *(antica e moderna)* hath always delighted me. What an intenſity of pleaſure muſt it be to meet one's friends at Rome! I muſt inform

* Alluding to the victories he had obtained over the Engliſh troops during an heroic expedition in the hereditary realms of his forefathers.

you

you that Marquis de Breil has not forgotten me. He was at Nice with M. de Serilly. They both have written to me a moſt agreeable letter: imagine to yourſelf, what a refined ſatisfaction it muſt be to receive marks of friendſhip from a man whom I revere. I have replied to him, that if my abode were on the banks of the Rhone inſtead of the Garonne, I ſhould not have tarried to pay him a viſit at Nice. It is no matter of ſurpriſe to me, that you are in love with Rome, for, had I eyes, I ſhould as lieve reſide in Rome as at Paris. But as Rome's merit conſiſts chiefly in externals, there is a too conſtant privation of its excellencies for thoſe who have not eyes.

The departure of the Marquis de Mirepoix, and of the Duke of Richmond is deferred. The Paris report is, that it has been cauſed by the king of England's not chuſing to ſend a titled perſonage to the court of France, unleſs one of the ſame rank were alſo ſent to his. But that is not the fact, becauſe the high birth of M. de Mirepoix exempts him from the neceſſity of a title *; and that the late Emperor Charles the Sixth, who had ſent Prince Lichlenſtein his ambaſſador to France, did not, through a groundleſs delicacy, make any objection to M. de Mirepoix's being ambaſſador at Vienna. The true reaſon of the matter lies here; the Duke of Richmond is not ſatisfied with the ſum of money that is intended to be given to him for the ſupport of his embaſſy: moreover, the Ducheſs of Richmond is ſick; and the Duke who adores, would not willingly quit her or croſs the ſea without her.

Our political agents here whiſper, that the treaty between Spain and England goes on very lamely.

* He was then a Marquis only; but after his embaſſy to England, was created a Duke and Peer of France.

They

They have not come to any agreement as yet about the principal point that cauſed the war, and which is the mode to be followed, in carrying on a commerce with America, or the 90,000l. ſterling as an indemnification for the prizes taken. It is moreover reported, that in the Spaniſh ports all the vexations, delays, and difficulties that can be thrown in the way of the Engliſh ſhipping, are daily practiſed. Is it not curious for you to obſerve a provincial correſpondent dealing out ſuch fine articles of news, for which in your eccleſiaſtic way either of preconiſation or congregation, you will hardly be able to pay me with an equivalent? The trade of Bourdeaux begins to revive, and the Engliſh have been ambitious enough to drink ſome of my wine this year. Our commerce notwithſtanding cannot be thoroughly eſtabliſhed, but through the means of the American iſles, becauſe our dealing with them is its principal branch. I am very much pleaſed to know that you like the *Spirit of Laws*. The eulogiums given by the the general run of mankind, might flatter my vanity, but yours enhances my pride; as muſt all thoſe given by a man diſtinguiſhed for the ſoundneſs of his judgment *. It muſt be owned that the ſubject is beautiful, is great, and I had often reaſon to fear leſt it ſhould become too great for me. I may indeed ſay that I have employed all my life in working upon it; for ſcarce had I quitted college, and that very young, when the books of law were put into my hands. I wanted to diſcover the ſpirit of them, I made continual reſearches, but to little or no purpoſe. It is

* When M. de Solar had read the Spirit of Laws for the firſt time, he ſaid "that is a Book will cauſe great revolutions in "the minds of the French," and this among others is a ſtriking proof of the ſoundneſs of his judgment.

now

now about twenty years ago ſince I firſt ſeized on my principles; they are very ſimple, and any other perſon who ſhould have worked as much on the ſubject as I had, might in all probability have made more of it. But I can with truth declare, that this work had like to coſt me my life. Henceforwards I mean to enjoy hours of repoſe, and to work no more.

I think your happineſs muſt be compleat in having the Duke de Nivernois at Rome. That noble Lord honoured me formerly with ſome marks of kindneſs; he was then but amiable. My pride is hurt at the loſs of not being near him, as he advances ſo laudably in the paths of reaſon. He has in his ſuite a man of merit, founded on great talents, and that is M. de la Bruere *. I owe him my thanks, which I entreat that you will pay to him for me, when you ſhall next ſee him at the Duke de Nivernois'.

You ſeem not to deſire the complimentary appellation of *your Excellence*; nor to have the trouble of ſaying, why the Devil does he plague me with *your Excellence?* notwithſtanding the objection, I have the honour of embracing you a thouſand times.

Paris, March 7, 1749.

LETTER XXX.

To the Abbé *and* Count de Guaſco, *at* Paris.

IN order to prove, illuſtrious Abbé, how much you were in the wrong to quit me, and for how ſhort a time I can exiſt without you, I hereby give notice

* Author of the life of Charlemaine, and of ſeveral works written for the theatre.

that

that I am to ſet out to-morrow for Paris in queſt of you. For ſince your departure I feel ſuch an irkſomeneſs diffuſed over my mind, as makes me to think I am incapacitated either for enjoying myſelf, or doing any thing with ſatisfaction to myſelf. It was very weak in you not to have paid a viſit to the archbiſhop *, ſince you ſtopt for ſome time at Tours. Perhaps he was the only perſon you ought to have ſeen; you would have met with a moſt agreeable reception. You ſhould alſo have made a ſhort trip on the left to Verret, where the Duke and Dutcheſs of Aiguillon would have applauded your politeneſs for ſo doing; and ſurely that was a matter of more importance than going to the Abbey of Marmoutier, where there was nothing to be ſeen but Gothic works, and old duſty papers that muſt have hurt your eyes by poring on them. The anecdote of your Iriſh friend at Nantz, afforded me no ſmall diverſion. It was very natural for a banker to imagine, that when a travelling gentleman ſpoke to him about academies, he meant thoſe of gaming, and not of literature; beſides, as a money-dealing man, he had nothing to gain by the tranſactions of the latter. Thus the vicar ſees in a dream the ſteeple of his pariſh-church, and his ſervant maid her maſter's breeches. I knew very well that you had given ſufficient proofs of your being a rambler, but till now had never ſurmiſed your having qualifications to be a courier. M. Stuart ſays you have quite exhauſted him with fatigue. The next time that you embark your perſon, be ſo good as to embark your chaiſe, becauſe people cannot labour ſo eaſily againſt the current of a river, as they can fall

* M. de Raſtignac, one of the moſt illuſtrious prelates of his time in France.

down with it. I hope that you are not in a hurry to viſit England; it would be very unkind of you not to wait for a perſon who undertakes a journey of an hundred and fifty leagues to ſee you. I propoſe being at Paris about the 17th. You have time enough to remove to the Rue des Roſiers, for you muſt not be lodged too far from me.

Bourdeaux, July 2, 1749.

A Billet to the Same.

M. d'Eſtouteville *, my dear Abbé, perſecutes me to prevail on you to grant him a fixed hour every evening, in order to finiſh the reading and correction of his tranſlation of Dante. He promiſes to be implicitly amenable to all the alterations † you ſhall think neceſſary for him to make.

He ſolicits your indulgence only for his preface ‡. You are not ignorant that he has a very particular ſtyle, from which he will not depart, even when he

* The Count de Colbert d'Eſtouteville, was grandſon of the great Colbert, a man of wit, but of a very ſingular caſt. He reſolved on tranſlating *Dante* into French. This project had been a long time executed in proſe, on which he wanted to conſult ſome able Italian. This tranſlation has never been printed.

† This tranſlator had inſerted in his text ſeveral thoughts and paſſages taken from the various commentaries upon this poet. Contrary to promiſe, he did not always prove tractable to the corrections he was adviſed to make, which put an end to the reading, and their meeting any more upon the ſubject.

‡ It is a very extraordinary one, and very ſhort, he ſays, that in his infancy, the attendant woman charged with the care of him, frequently ſpoke of Paradiſe, Hell, Purgatory, without giving him any diſtinct notions of what they were; and that as he grew up, his preceptor often repeated the ſame words without throwing any light on them: that when he was arrived at the years of maturity, he conſulted ſeveral theologiſts about their preciſe meaning, who left him equally in the dark. But on his travelling in Italy, he found in the firſt poet of that country ſatisfactory information concerning the nature of thoſe three abodes in the other world, and that determined him to tranſlate the work into French for the good of his fellow citizens.

ſpeaks

ſpeaks to miniſters *. Let me know what anſwer I am to make to him. Remember he is to call on you every evening, until the lecture of his tranſlation ſhall be finiſhed.

Paris, 1749.

LETTER XXXI.

To Mr. Cerati.

AS I was going on a tour into the country, I met with the Meſſieurs de Saint Palaye, who ſpoke to me of Mr. Cerati. I conſtantly queſtioned them about Mr. Cerati. One article diſpleaſed me much, and that is my not being in Rome with the great man, whom they ſpoke to me of with ſo much warmth. They informed me that you were in very good health. I return thanks to the air of Rome, and congratulate with all your friends on the happy occaſion. M. de Buffon has juſt publiſhed three volumes, which are to be followed by twelve more. The three firſt contain but general ideas; the twelve other are to contain a deſcription of the curioſities in the king's garden. M. de Buffon has among the learned in this country a great number of enemies, and their preponderating judgments, will, I dread,

* He one day put a queſtion to M. de Chauvelin, then keeper of the ſeals, concerning a ſuit of law he was then carrying on relative to the ducal title of d'Eſtouteville, which was conteſted with him. The miniſter, in his reply, made uſe of theſe words, "Sir, I tell "you, that neither the King, the Cardinal, nor I, will ever conſent," —upon which d'Eſtouteville replied immediately,—"upon my word, "Sir, you have placed the King between a pretty couple of ear-"bobs, you and the Cardinal.—I am the ſon and grandſon of mi-"niſters, yet if either my father or grand-father had preſumed to "make uſe of ſuch impertinent terms, they would have been ſent "to a mad-houſe."—He then withdrew.

bear down the balance againſt him for ſome time. I, for my part, who find many excellent things in the work, ſhall wait with diſcretion and modeſty, for the deciſion of the learned in foregn countries. I have not however as yet met with any perſon who does not allow that there is a great deal of uſeful matter in the work.

Mr. de Maupertuis, who has believed all his life, and given perhaps convincing proofs that he was not happy, has juſt publiſhed a treatiſe upon Happineſs. It is the production of a man of wit, fraught both with ſound reaſoning and gracefulneſs of ſtyle. In conſequence of my work on *The Spirit of Laws*, I hear ſome diſſatisfied drones humming and buzzing about my years; but while the bees extract a little honey from it I am ſatisfied.—What you write to me about it gives me infinite pleaſure; for what is more agreeable than to be approved of by the perſons whom we love. Deign, Sir, to accept the tribute of my moſt reſpectful ſentiments.

Paris, Nov. 11, 1749.

LETTER XXXII.

To Abbé Venuti.

I OUGHT to thank you my dear Abbé for the fine book which the Marquis Venuti * has made me a preſent of. I have not as yet read it, becauſe it is at my book-binder's; I do not doubt that it is worthy of the name it bears. I wiſh you a very happy year. If you are not at Bourdeaux on my return thither, I ſhall not only be very much diſ-

* The firſt work that was publiſhed on the diſcoveries of the Herculaneum.

pleaſed,

pleaſed, but conclude alſo that the academy muſt have loſt its wit, and its learning. Preſent my moſt reſpectful compliments to the counteſs *, and embrace her on my behalf, while I myſelf, without proxy, embrace you, who are not altogether ſo amiable.

Paris, January 17, 1750.

LETTER XXXIII.

To the Abbé Count de Guaſco.

MY dear Count, I had already learned from Lord Albemarle that you were not drowned in croſſing over from Calais to Dover, and the kind reception which you met with in London. You will be ſtill more happy in your acquaintance with the duke of Richmond, Lord Cheſterfield, and Lord Granville. I am ſure that on their ſides, they will ſeek every occaſion of having you as much with them as they can. Speak often and much to them of me. But I do not inſiſt upon your toaſting ſo often when you dine at the duke of Richmond's. Aſſure Lord Cheſterfield that nothing can flatter me ſo much as his approbation, and that ſince he honours my work with a third reading, he will be the better able to tell me what parts of it want to be corrected or altered. How uſeful and inſtructive to me would his obſervations and criticiſm prove!

You, Sir, ought to be very vain glorious for having your work peruſed by a monarch, and who approves all you have ſaid concerning England. I cannot hope for ſuch high and mighty ſuffrages; and of all mankind, kings are perhaps the laſt that will read, and what is not improbable, perhaps they will not even look into the book. There is however one ſo-

* The Counteſs de Pontac.

vereign in this world who has read it, and I have been informed by Mr. de Maupertuis, that he ſaid there were ſome places concerning which he differed in opinion; my anſwer to Maupertuis was, that I would lay a wager, I could put my finger on thoſe places. I muſt alſo tell you, Sir, that the Duke de Savoi has begun a ſecond reading. I am very much pleaſed with what you tell me about the approbation of the Engliſh; and I hope that the tranſlator of The Spirit of Laws will acquit himſelf as well, as did the tranſlator of The Perſian Letters. You have done very right (notwithſtanding Miſs Pit's advice to the contrary) to deliver your recommendatory letters to Lord Bath. You have nothing to do with the diſputes of party, as a travelling ſtranger is not to take on with any, but to ſee every body. I am not ſurprized at the acts of friendſhips you meet with from thoſe you had known in Paris, and am perſuaded that the longer you continue in London, the more you will receive. But it is to be hoped, Sir, the kind proceedings of the Engliſh, will not make you forget your friends in France, at the head of whom, you know I pride myſelf to be. In order that you may be well received here on your return, I will communicate to all my acquaintance that article of your letter, where you ſay that in England the men are more than men, but the women leſs women than in any other country. Since the Prince of Wales deigns to honour me with his remembrance, preſent my moſt reſpectful ſentiments to him, and with all humility. Your friend embraces you.

Paris, March 12, 1730.

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LETTER XXXIV.

To the Abbé Venuti, *at* Bourdeaux.

I AM much chagrined, my dear Abbé, to hear that you are going to Italy, and what is ſtill worſe, that you are not pleaſed with us: although by all I can gather there has been no deficiency in paying every mark of regard that is ſo legitimately due to exalted merit like yours. I wiſh however you may be ſatisfied with your voyage to Italy; and I could wiſh alſo, that after this courſe of pilgrimage were over, you might be paſſed to ſome ſtate of a more happy tranſmigration, and more adequate to your perſonal deſert. If you can withdraw your diſſertation from the hands of Preſident Barbot, which he keeps in as ſafe cuſtody, as if it were one of the ſybilline books, I can make it turn out to your advantage; but your letter gives me no room to hope. Preſent my compliments to the Counteſs *, and to Madame du Pleſſis †. If you continue your journey entirely by land, you will ſee the Commander de Solar at Turin, who will come thither from Rome. Adieu. Let nothing abate your hitherto friendly ſentiments for me; and believe that in whatever part of the world I ſhall be, you will always have a ſincere and faithful friend.

Paris, May 18, 1750.

* Madame de Pontac.

† A Bourdeaux lady who had a paſſion for learning; and particularly for natural hiſtory; of whoſe curioſities ſhe was making a valuable collection.

LETTER XXXV.

To Mr. Cerati.

I ENTREAT, Sir, that you will permit me the honour of recommending Mr. Fordyce to you, profeſſor of the univerſity of Edinburgh, who is very eſtimable on account of his learning, and many uſeful productions; among others of that of education. This worthy profeſſor has been very obliging to me, and honours me with his friendſhip, wherefore I reiterate the requeſt that my recommendation of him may be agreeable to you. I pray you will introduce this learned gentleman to Abbé Nicolini, whom I take this opportunity of ſaluting. We have loſt that moſt worthy man Mr. Gendron. I am much afflicted at the ſad event, and am ſure that you will be ſo too. He had an excellent phyſical, as well as moral, head. And I remember what a number of good things uſed to ſpring from it. I ſupplicate that you will always love me, as much as I love; or rather, as I honour and admire you. Our friend Abbé de Guaſco, now become a celebrated traveller, is in my apartment, and commiſſions me to preſent you with a thouſand compliments. He is juſt come from England.

Paris, October 23, 1750.

LETTER XXXVI.

To Abbé Venuti.

I HAVE not as yet thanked you, my dear Abbé, for the diſtinguiſhed place you have allotted

to

to me in your triumph *. You are Petrarch, and I nothing of conſequence. Mr. Tercier † has written to me to thank you in his name for the copy which I had ſent to him; and to aſſure you that M. Puyſieux had received his with the greateſt ſatisfaction ‡. As there have appeared here as yet but very few copies, I ſhall not be able for ſome time to let you know the ſucceſs of the work among us. I have heard it well ſpoken of, and it ſeems to me to be of the true poetic turn.

———*Et te fecere Poetam*
Pierides.———

I cannot accuſtom myſelf, dear Abbé, to think you are no longer at Bourdeaux. You have left a number of friends there, that ſincerely regret your ſeparation from them; and I am one of thoſe who feel the moſt upon that occaſion. Write to me ſometimes. I ſhall execute your commands in regard to Stuart, and the collection of diſſertations. You act very candidly with him; and I think he ought to be highly pleaſed with your generoſity. I ſhall ſee Mr. Curne. Abbé *le Beuf* (or ox) ſhall be ſpoken to, and if he be not a Beuf (or ox) ‖ he

* IL TRIONFO LITERARIO DELLA FRANCIA. The literary triumph of France, where in the article of M. de Monteſquieu it is ſaid, "if a ſoul ſo great as his could have been found in the ſenate of Rome, her liberty would ſtill ſurvive to the ſhame of tyrants. His name will laſt longer than the Tarpeian Rock, and his glory will never fade while Themis delivers her oracles on the judicial benches of France; or that the gods ſhall preſerve to mortals the foremoſt of their gifts, that of thinking."

† A very learned Academician, and one of the firſt clerks in the office of foreign affairs in Paris. He was well known for his various mortifications, becauſe in quality of royal cenſor he had given his approbation for printing the book, entitled L'Eſprit. He died in the year 1762.

‡ The Poem of Abbé Venuti, is dedicated to M. de Puyſieux, who was then the miniſter of foreign affairs.

‖ An idle punning on the name of Beuf, as already taken notice of; but theſe familiar letters were not deſigned by their author for the preſs.

muſt perceive that there is but very little to be corrected in your diſſertation.

The Preſident Barbot * ſhould find for you the diſſertation that is loſt like a needle in the bundle of hay, or learned lumber with which his vaſt and chaoſtic cabinet is crammed. It was very ridiculous to have been guilty of any incivility to Madame de Pontac, by boaſting ſo much an increaſe of the rent which we ſhall not touch; and while too we have ſo badly managed the affairs of the academy †. Send to me what you propoſe adding to the diſſertations which I have. Farewell my dear Abbé, I ſalute and embrace you with all my heart.

Paris, October 20, 1750.

LETTER XXXVII.

To Abbé Venuti.

MY dear Abbé, do not flatter yourſelf with the vain hope of receiving a letter from the triumphant pen of Abbé de Guaſco. If you were indeed a diſcarded miniſter of foreign affairs ‡, he might repair

* He was perpetual ſecretary to the academy of Bourdeaux, a man of wit, very amiable, and poſſeſſed of extenſive literature. But he was of a wavering diſpoſition when any thing was to be written or publiſhed; which is the reaſon that the memoirs of this academy are ſo much in arrears, and that we are deprived of many maſterly performances written by himſelf, and that are buried.

† This alludes to ſome literary difficulties, becauſe the fore-mentioned ſecretary of the academy, would never take the trouble of arranging the memoirs in proper order, for the better preſenting of them to the publick's eye.

‡ Marquis d'Argenſon, the former miniſter of foreign affairs, after his diſmiſſion, gave a dinner to his brother members on all the meeting days of the academy, thus to indemnify himſelf with the company of literary men for the want of employment; and Abbé de Guaſco, lately admitted into the Academy of Inſcriptions, was enliſted in the number of this convivial band.

to

to your houſe with the kind intention of comforting you. The good man's occupation now is to run his eye over all the new pamphlets, and other fugitive publications — or with a moſt obliging prodigality to accommodate his bad ſtomach to all the invitations which he receives from foreign ambaſſadors. He nevertheleſs ruins his breaſt in the ſervice of his Cantimir, and of his Clement the Fifth. For notwithſtanding all the trouble he takes to animate Cantimir, it will always be deemed a cold, and unintereſting work. But the fault was in his late Excellence, not in our friend.——

There is now no likelihood of my going to England; there is a much ſtronger probability of my retiring to La Brede. I am now writing a letter of congratulation to preſident De la Lane on his reception at the academy. Bonardi, who is preſident of that academy, has been to viſit and give me a detail of all the dinners he has been at ſince his return among all the faſhionable wits who give dinners, with the genealogy of each invited to dinner *. He tells me that he has addreſſed his firſt letter to the newly adopted aſſociate. And I am of opinion that you will think this was quite according to rule. I obſerve that our academy is converting itſelf into a ſociety of Free Maſons, with this difference that there is neither drinking nor ſinging, but there is much building. Mr. de Tourni is our King Hiram;

* This is an humorous alluſion to the very ſingular ſtudy of a gentleman in Languedoc, whoſe favourite object was to know the genealogy of all the families, which he had any knowledge of, and this was the common ſubject of his converſation with literary men. Abbé Benardi in a late tour through that part of France, paid a viſit to this gentleman in his patrimonial caſtle, and enriched his mind with a very extenſive genealogical erudition, which he never failed to diſplay on his return to Paris. He was wont to go ſometimes, and, as he thought, to favour M. de Monteſquieu with a diſcharge of it; which unwiſhed-for communication was very unwelcome, and made him often loſe precious hours.

he

he will furniſh us with workmen, but I doubt that he will ſupply us with cedar.

I believe the Prince de Craon is actually at Vienna, but he will ſoon be in Lorraine, and if you will ſend me your letter, I will forward it to him. I muſt now tell you ſome news from Italy concerning the Spirit of Laws. The Duke de Nivernois wrote about three weeks ago to Mr. de Forqualquier, in ſuch a commendatory manner, as that it would be impoſſible for me to repeat without bluſhing. About two days ago he received another from him, wherein he is informed that as ſoon as the work appeared at Turin, the king of Sardinia read it; I cannot even dare to repeat what he has ſaid on the ſubject. Let the following fact be ſufficient; he gave to his ſon the Duke de Savoi to peruſe, and that prince has read it twice—Mr. de Breille informs me that his royal pupil has declared he will ſtudy it during life.—There muſt, to be ſure, appear a great deal of coxcombry in me to tell you this anecdote. But as it is of public notoriety, why may you not learn it from me as well as from any body elſe. You muſt now naturally conclude, that I have the moſt implicit reliance in the judgment of Italian princes.—Marquis de Breille aſſures me that his Royal Highneſs the Duke de Savoi is bleſſed with an exalted genius, lively conception, and ſolid judgment to a wonderful degree.

Huart, the bookſeller, is very deſirous of having the tranſlation of the beginning of the Temple of Gnidus into Latin verſe by Doctor Clancy * to join

* A learned Engliſh gentleman, through ſickneſs become quite blind, was an excellent Latin poet, and during his ſojournment at Paris, undertook to tranſlate the temple of Gnidus into Latin verſe; but there has not appeared more than the firſt canto.

with

with the Italian tranſlation *, and the original. Now try which you can get for me, either an amanuenſis copy of thoſe verſes, or a conſent from the academy to oblige me with a printed one, which I ſhall ſpeedily return.

But a-propos, the Portrait of Madame de Mirepoix is extolled to the higheſt degree both at Paris and Verſailles. I have no way contributed towards its good fortune in the city of Bourdeaux, ſo far on the contrary, that I have diſpatched thither Abbé de Guaſco to malignly criticiſe it. Now you who are the wit of all wits, ought to tranſlate it, which tranſlation I would ſend to Madame de Mirepoix actually in London. I have not a copy of it, but either the Preſident Barbot, or M. du Pin has. You know very well it was but a ſtroke of fancy hit out at Luneville, as a momentary amuſement for the king of Poland.

I had forgotten to obſerve to you, that there is a compenſation of all things in this world. I have already informed you of the favourable judgments in Italy relative to The Spirit of Laws. There is ſoon to appear in Paris a large and formidable criticiſm on that work, witten by M. Dupin, a farmer general; ſo I am now to be ſummoned before the tribunal of tax-gatherers, and exciſemen, as I had been ſometime ago before the journaliſts of Trevoux. Farewell, my dear Abbé, this letter is in the Bonardi manner †. I ſalute and I embrace you with all my heart.

* The work of Abbé Venuti. Mr. Veſpaſiano gave a new tranſlation of Mr. de Monteſquieu's Temple of Gnidus in the Italian language in the year 1766, in twelves.

† Mention has been already made of this writer, who was very converſant in the hiſtory of the modern literature of France, but very prolix in his own writings, and his letters. Dying, he left a great number of manuſcripts upon anonymous, and pſeudonimous authors.

Do

Do not however be the dupe of the tranſlation which I deſire; for if your mind does not impel you kindly, it is not worth the while that you ſhould miſpend a quarter of an hour's time in thinking about it.

Paris.

LETTER XXXVIII.

To the Abbé Count de Guaſco.

IT is a great happineſs, my dear Abbé, to have a well formed mind; but it is alſo a degree of prudence to never let it be the dupe of another man's cunning. The intendant may ſay what he pleaſes, but he can never juſtify the having broken his word to the academy, and having led its members into an error through his falſe promiſes. I am not at all ſurprized, that, become conſcious of the wrong he had done to the corps, he labours ſo ſtrenuouſly to exculpate himſelf. But you, Sir, who have been an eye witneſs of the whole tranſaction, are not to ſuffer yourſelf to be impoſed upon by excuſes that intrinſically are of as little value as his promiſes. For my part, I am too well ſatisfied in giving up, to him his friendſhip, to deſire any more of it. For of what avail is the friendſhip of a man in place who is always actuated by diffidence, and can think nothing right but what falls in with his own ſyſtem; who knows not how to do the leaſt favour, or to render any eſſential ſervice. Let me be far removed from the occaſion of aſking him any, either for myſelf or others. And by that deſirable ſituation I ſhall be delivered from many importunities.

Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici:
Expertus metui.

It

It is prudent to ſhun every woman, who is nothing but a coquette, becauſe ſhe practically deceives by giving falſe hopes. Theſe are my laſt words upon the ſubject. I flatter myſelf that the Ducheſs coincides with my reaſon: for which the affair of her freehold will go on neither better nor worſe.

I am flatteringly pleaſed with Abbé Oliva's* friendly remembrance of me. I frequently call to mind, and with a refined ſatisfaction, the delightful moments I enjoyed in the literary ſociety ſet on foot by this learned Italian, who nobly ſoars above all the prejudices of his country, and which rendezvous no other motive but the deſpotic and turbulent ſpirit of father Tournemine could have made me to decline frequenting, where there was ſo much improvement to be met, and that I could have profited by. The diſſolution of thoſe little private academies, where every article is debated with a due ſpirit of freedom, proves a great loſs to men of letters; and I aſſure you that you have reaſon to lament that of father Deſmoletz being proſcribed †. I inſiſt upon your writing

* Librarian of Cardinal de Rahan, at the Hotel de Soubize, where he uſed to aſſemble, one day in every week, ſeveral learned gentlemen to converſe on literary ſubjects. M. de Monteſquieu on his firſt arrival at Paris, uſed to frequent that ſociety; but on finding that father Tournemine would fain reign arbitrary maſter there, and force every other perſon's opinion to ſtrike to his: the young auditor withdrew himſelf from it by degrees, and did not keep his reaſon a ſecret. At which the Jeſuit's pride was ſo ſtung, that he left no ſtone unturned to prejudice Cardinal de Fleury againſt the author of the Perſian Letters. M. de Monteſquieu has been often heard to ſay, that in order to revenge himſelf on this troubleſome man, he never took any other method but to aſk of thoſe who were near and talking to him.—Who is this father Tournemine, I have never heard of him? This fretted the Jeſuit, who was paſſionately fond of fame.

† There was to the amount of ſeveral excellent literary volumes, read in that ſociety, and collected by its inſtitutor father Deſmoletz, librarian of the oratorians, in whoſe department the ſeveral authors uſed to aſſemble. The Jeſuits, ever declared enemies to the Oratorians,

writing to me, before you leave Turin, and demand another letter from you on your arrival there. Adieu.

Paris, December 5, 1750.

LETTER XXXIX.

To Abbé de Guaſco.

My dear Abbé and Count, I have received at La Brede, where I now am, and wiſh you to be, your letter dated from Turin. The Marquis de St. Germain, who intereſts himſelf warmly in every thing that concerns you, had already informed me of the diſtinguiſhed manner in which you were received at your court, and the juſtice that has been done to you. How comfortable muſt it be for a whole people to ſee their ſovereign making adequate amends for the injuries which a wicked miniſter had cauſed him to inflict on a deſerving ſubject. I conceive too with joy, that through the aid of time, merit will always pierce, and make itſelf known to intelligent princes, who give themſelves the trouble of ſeeing every thing with their own eyes.

The good offices which the Marquis de St. Germain has rendered you by his letters, enhances the eſteem which I had already for his various deſerts. I compliment you ſincerely on your being inveſted with the title of Count, and it would add much to my ſatisfaction on this occaſion, were I to hear alſo of your being inveſted with an Abbotſhip, which would be no more than a proper reparation for the

Oratorians, having miſrepreſented in odious colours, mere literary aſſemblies, as moſt dangerous meetings, on account of the theological diſputes carried on there; they were ſuppreſt; and to the very great detriment of making farther advances in literature.

injuries

injuries which you have received. However, my dear Abbé, I hope you will not yield to any temptation of quitting us. You muſt be convinced that we do juſtice to your merit in France, and that you have many friends there. It would then be ingratitude in you to leave us for a ſhort gale of court-favour. You will permit me, I hope, to quiet myſelf on this article by the old maxim, "That no man is a prophet in his own country."

I have had Lord Hyde * with me here. He is now gone from to Paris Verret, to viſit our amiable Ducheſs; from thence he means to ſhape his courſe to Richelieu, to ſee the marſhal; afterwards to Bourdeaux, then to la Brede, and is to cloſe his journey at Aiguillon: whither the Duke has diſpatched orders that all the honours of his caſtle ſhould be paid to him; ſo that he meets every where with all the zealous efforts of obliging courteſy, that are due to his high birth, and perſonal merit. My Lord Hyde profeſſes a great regard for, and would be very glad to meet you, at la Brede.

You have arouſed and tickled my vanity in the tendereſt point by your information, that his royal highneſs has been ſo kind as to remember me. Preſent that excellent Prince with my reſpects approaching to adoration.—Now that Europe is ſo intermixed, and that there is ſo general a communication among all the parts, it may with truth be ſaid, he who cauſes the happineſs of one contributes to that of the reſt, and ſo the ſpreading circle of happineſs reaches from realm to realm.

* Or Lord Cornbury, the laſt male deſcendant from the famous Chancellor Hyde, very much beloved in France, where he had reſided for ſeveral years, and died of a conſumption, greatly regretted by all thoſe who had the happineſs of knowing his excellent character, and the cultivated talents of his mind.

While I am indulging my thoughts in viſionary ſcenes, I am cheered with the pleaſing proſpects, that I may poſſibly reviſit Turin, and there pay my court to your moſt amiable prince.

Aſſure Marquis de Breille, and the grand Prior, that while I breathe I ſhall be always theirs, and moſt devotedly. On my firſt ſeeing them at Vienna, I formed a reſolution of being honoured with their friendſhip, which I ſoon obtained. I learn from Madame de St. Maure, that you are now at Piedmont in a new Herculaneum *; where, after having ſcraped up the earth for about eight days, you found nothing but a brazen graſshopper. It is beyond a doubt that the gentlemen, called Antiquarians, are very great quacks. I have received no letters, nor any account whatſoever from Abbé Venuti ſince his departure from Bourdeaux. He had ſome ſymptoms of friendſhip for me before he was made a prieſt and a provoſt. Let me know if you intend returning to Paris. For my part, I ſhall paſs the winter, and part of the ſpring, where I am. The province is ruined, and in the caſe of ſuch a public calamity, every body ought to ſtay at home. I am informed from Paris, that the luxury there is enormous. We have loſt what we had of that folly here, which was indeed no great matter.

Were you to ſee la Brede in its preſent flouriſhing condition, I believe you would not be diſpleaſed with it. Your advice has been followed, and the alterations in conſequence have called forth every latent charm. In ſhort, it is a beautiful and ſprightly butterfly, that has triumphantly extricated itſelf

* The antient city of Induſtria, whoſe ruins were diſcovered near the banks of the Po, in Piedmont. But the diſcovery has not been produſtive of many rich articles of antiquity. The moſt valuable that have been found are an elegant brazen Trinos, ſome medals, and ſome inſcriptions.

from

from the ſluggiſh ſtate of inert nymph-exiſtence. Adieu, my friend, I ſalute and embrace you a thouſand times.

LETTER XL.

To the Same.

WHAT you have marked to me in your billet of yeſterday cannot determine me to renounce my adopted principle*. When at your return I ſhall know what you have heard concering the two parliamentary counſellors in queſtion; I may perhaps be able to judge if it be worth my while to give any farther illuſtration of thoſe points that ſeem to have ſhocked their delicacy. I am of opinion that they only echo the cenſure of the eccleſiaſtic news-writers, whoſe idle declamations ſhould never be attended to by ingenuous minds. As for the plan which the little miniſter of Wirtemburg wiſhes I had followed in a work, whoſe title is, The Spirit of Laws, tell that pragmatic gentleman, my intention was to compoſe my own work, not his. Adieu.

From Paris to Fountainbleau.

LETTER XLI.

To the Same.

WHILE you my friend fly through the ſublime regions of the air, I only crawl upon earth, as it were; and that is the reaſon of our not meeting.

* Not to anſwer any criticiſm on the Spirit of Laws.

From the moment that I was at liberty to leave Paris, I ſet out for this place, where I had ſome conſiderable affairs to tranſact. I am now going to Clerac, I have haſtened my journey hither a month ſooner than I had intended, in order to meet the Duke d'Aiguillon *, and bring matters to a concluſion, becauſe his agents have puzzled things more than they have contributed to clear them. I have ſent the pipe of wine to Lord Elibank which you aſked for his Lordſhip. He is to pay me for it what he pleaſes, with this proviſo, that in proportion as he ſhall abate of the price, he will favour me with an increaſe of his friendſhip, which I ſhall eſteem a moſt invaluable preſent. Pray let him know, that he may keep it as long as he pleaſes, even to the extended term of fifteen years, if he ſhould fancy ſo to do; but it muſt not be mixed with any other wines. He may be aſſured that he has it in the ſame ſtate of purity in which I received it from the deity. It has not paſſed through the adulterating hands of wine-merchants.

At your return from Italy, my dear Abbé, why ſhould you not be deſirous of paſſing through Bourdeaux, of ſeeing your friends there, and the caſtle of la Brede, which I have ſo greatly embelliſhed ſince your having ſeen it? It is now the moſt beautiful country retreat that I know of any where.

Sunt mihi cælicolæ, ſunt cætera numina fauni.

At length I enjoy thoſe pleaſant meadows which you were wont to torment me ſo much about. Your prophecy is verified; the ſucceſs has by far ſurpaſſed

* A property in the lordſhip of Aiguillon; was the cauſe of a law proceſs, that had laſted for a length of time, about the determining of the franc Aleu. This affair was very near cauſing a breach between M. de Monteſquieu and thē Ducheſs d'Aiguillon, his old friend, which made him very deſirous of ſpeedily terminating this buſineſs.

my

my expectation, and my ſprightly country-valet often exclaims in his incorrect provincial jargon, *Boudri bien que M. l'Abbé Guaſco bis aco.* I wiſh with all my heart, Mr. l'Abbé Guaſco was here.

I have ſeen the counteſs; ſhe has made a deplorable marriage; I pity her much. The too-ardent deſire of being rich, in the end but too often preſents us with a blank. The Chevalier Citron hath alſo made a great match of the ſame taſte, in the iſlands, which has produced to him for his wife's dowry, ſeven hogſheads of ſugar. It is true indeed, he has made a voyage to the iſlands, and the reſult may be a broken heart. Farewell, I embrace you with all my ſoul.

De la Brede, March 16, 1752.

LETTER XLII.

To the Same, at Bourdeaux.

MY dear Count, I own that you are admirable for bringing about a re-union of three friends, who have not ſeen each other for ſeveral years, being ſeparated by the ſea; but among whom you have now opened a new commercial intercourſe. Mr. Michel * and I did not abſolutely loſe ſight of each other. But M. d'Ayrolles, whom I had the honour of knowing at Bruſſels, had entirely forgotten me.

I have no more of laſt year's wine, but I will preſerve an hogſhead of this year's vintage for each

* Then commiſſary from England for the barrier-negociation at Bruſſels; and actually the miniſter plenipotentiary at Berlin: a man of ability, and of a very amiable character. Mr. d'Ayrolles was miniſter from the ſame court at Bruſſels.

of you. I have already notified to you, that I propoſed being at Paris in the month of September, and as you are to be there at the ſame time, I ſhall bring with me the merchant's anſwer to Abbé de la Porte. The perſon in queſtion is not a mere nominal merchant, as you may imagine, but one in reality, and a young man of this city who is author of that performance.

You muſt know, my dear Abbé, that I have received very large commiſſions from England, for the wine of this year*, and I am in hopes that our province will ſoon recover from its late misfortunes. I pity the poor Flemings, who have nothing now to eat but oyſters, and without butter.

I am induced to think that the ſyſtem is altered in regard to the barrier places, and that England is at laſt convinced they could ſerve to no other purpoſe but to determine the Dutch to continue in peace; while other powers ſhall be in war. The Engliſh think alſo that the Low Countries are rendered ſtronger by the addition of twelve hundred thouſand florins † than they ſhould be, while garriſoned only by the Dutch troops, who defend them ſo badly. Moreover, the queen of Hungary is now perſuaded that the giving her a peace in Flanders, was done with no other intent but to enable the enemy to transfer the ſeat of war to another place. I ſhould not be at all ſurprized, if on the firſt occaſion, the ſyſtem of the balance of power, and of certain political alliances in Europe were to undergo a total change; for which many reaſons can be aſſigned; and we will talk them over at our eaſe

* The reader is not to be ſurprized at our author's making ſo frequent mention of wine, becauſe in that article conſiſted the principal part of his yearly income.

† A ſubſidy which the court of Vienna had contracted with the Dutch for the garriſons of the barrier-towns.

in

in the months of September and October. I have received a very fine letter from Abbé Venuti, who, after a continued ſilence of two years without reaſon, has now broke it with as little.

La Brede, June 27, 1752.

LETTER XLIII.

To the Same.

THRICE welcome, my dear Count, I regret very much my not having been at Paris to receive you. I am told that my houſe-keeper, Mrs. Betty, took you for a ghoſt, and ſcreamed out ſo outrageouſly on ſeeing you, that all the neighbours were frighted from their ſleep. I thank you for the kind manner in which you have received the perſon I protect. I ſhall be at Paris in the month of September. If you ſhall be returned from your reſidence before my arrival there, I hope you will honour my apartment with the welcome inmateſhip of your breviary. But I think that I ſhall be at Paris before you. You are indeed an extraordinary man; for ſcarcely had you drunk of the waters drawn from the ciſterns of Tournay, but you have been ſent as a deputy from that very Tournay. Such an event has never happened to any canon before.

I muſt tell you that the theological ſociety of Sorbonne, but little ſatisfied with the applauſe which they have received on the account of their deputies, have nominated others to re-examine the affair *. I am very eaſy upon that article; they can but repeat what the eccleſiaſtical news-ſcribbler hath

* The doctors of Sorbonne, after having detained for a long time, The Spirit of Laws, thought proper to ſuſpend their cenſure.

already advanced; and I will tell to them what I have already declared to him; to wit, that their cauſe is not rendered a whit the ſtronger by the aid of him, nor his by the aſſiſtance of them. Reaſon muſt ultimately decide the matter; my book is a book of politics, and not a book of divinity; and the ill-grounded objections ſpring from their own heads, but not from my work.

As for Voltaire, he has too much wit to underſtand me. He reads no books but thoſe he writes, and then he approves or cenſures his own progeny, as the whim takes him. I thank you for father Gerdil's* criticiſm, it is the performance of a man who really deſerves to underſtand, and afterwards to criticize my work. I ſhould be very glad, my dear friend, to ſee you again at Paris; then you would talk to me about all Europe, and I ſhould diſcourſe with you about my rural villa at la Brede, as well as about my caſtle that is now made fitting to receive for a gueſt, the perſonage who has taken a philoſophical ſurvey of almoſt every country.

Et maris et terræ, numeroque carentis arenæ
Menſorem ———

Madame de Monteſquieu, the dean of St. Surin, and myſelf, are actually at Baron, a houſe ſituated between two ſeas, and which you have not ſeen. My ſon is at Clerac, which I have ceded to him for his domain, and added Monteſquieu. In a few days I propoſe going to Niſor, where the abbey of my brother is; we ſhall paſs through Toulouſe, where I intend paying my reſpects to Clemence Iſaure†, whoſe ladyſhip you ſo very well know. If

* A Barnabite friar.

† A lady who founded the floral games in the fourteenth century. Her ſtatue is preſerved with honour at the town-houſe, and crowned annually with flowers.

you

you ſhall win the academic prize there, let me know it. I will take up your medal *en paſſant*, (if you gain one) ſeeing that you cannot any longer, have the reſource of intendants. You ſhould have a man ſolely employed in collecting the medals you ſo frequently win. If agreeable to you, I propoſe, when at Toulouſe, paying a viſit to Madame Montegu *, your inſpiring muſe; but upon this condition, that I ſhall not, like you, be obliged to converſe with her in poetical language.

I have to tell you for news, that the jurats are now filling up all the excavation which they had made before the academy. If the Dutch had defended Bergen-op-zoom, as well as our intendant has defended † his trenches, we ſhould not have had a peace as yet. It is a terrible thing to have a litigable ſuit with an intendant. But in ſuch a caſe it is a very agreeable thing to get the better of an intendant. If you have any manner of connection or acquaintance with M. de Larrey at the Hague, ſpeak to him of the warm friendſhip we formerly had for each other. I am highly pleaſed to hear of the credit and eſtimation, in which he is held at the Stadtholder's court. He merits every degree of confidence with which he may be honoured. I embrace you, my dear friend, with all my heart.

From Raymond in Gaſcony,
Auguſt 8, 1752.

* Wife to a treaſurer of France who cultivated poetry.

† M. de Tourni, intendant of the province of Guienne, to whom Bourdeaux was indebted for its moſt brilliant decorations, in order to complete a plan of buildings according to his own ſcheme, and in a ſtraight line, had ſcreened the academy's elegant Hotel, which the members oppoſed, and gained their cauſe againſt the intendant, in the court of juſtice, which they applied to.

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LETTER XLIV.

To the Same Abbé de Guaſco.

YOUR letter, my dear Count, informs me that you are at Paris. I am aſtoniſhed at my not being there too. The journey which I had been obliged to make to the abbey of Niſor, in company with my brother, and that laſted very near a month, has quite diſconcerted all my meaſures; wherefore, upon calculating, I find, that I cannot be at Paris before the end of this month, or in the beginning of the next; for I am abſolutely bent on ſeeing, and paſſing ſome weeks with you before your departure. It was very weak in you, my dear Abbé, that in conſequence of your conjecturing I could not arrive ſo ſoon, you did not take poſſeſſion of my apartment below ſtairs. I ſend orders to Mrs. Betty to receive you there, although ſhe needs not any on that article. And I entreat that without farther ceremony, you will encamp yourſelf there. You think of going to Vienna; where, alas, within the courſe of two and twenty years ſince I have been there, I am inclined to believe I have loſt all my acquaintance.

Prince Eugene was alive when I was there, and that great man made me to enjoy many happy hours with him *. The Counts de Kinſki, the Prince of Lichtenſtein, the Marquis de Prié, the Count de

* In a ſhort tract on eſtimation by M. de Monteſquieu, that author in ſpeaking of Prince Eugene, ſaid, "that the public was no more jealous of that Prince's great wealth, than they are of that which ſhines in the Temple of the Gods." The prince was ſo pleaſed with this adulatory expreſſion, that he honoured M. de Monteſquieu with a moſt diſtinguiſhed reception on his arrival at Vienna, and admitted him into a moſt ſocial intimacy during his ſtay there.

Harak

Harak and all his family, which I had the honour of ſeeing at Naples, when he was Viceroy there, favoured me likewiſe with many marks of their kindneſs: all the reſt are dead, and I believe I ſhall ſoon follow them. However, if you can make thoſe who are alive remember me, you will do me a great pleaſure. You are going to figure upon a new theatre, where I am ſure you will acquit yourſelf as well as you have done every where elſe. The Germans are a good people, but ſomewhat ſuſpicious. Be upon your guard, for they are diffident of the Italians, whom they look upon as a race of mortals too ſubtle for them; but they know likewiſe that the Italians are not uſeleſs to their intereſt, and therefore are too prudent to do without them.

You were much in the wrong, not to have come by la Brede, as you returned from Italy. I may now ſafely ſay, that it is one of the moſt agreeable places in France, its caſtle * excepted. So eaſily ſports nature there, as in her Robe de Chambre, and as at her upriſing from the flowery couch of gentle ſlumber. I have received from England an anſwer about the wine you made me ſend to Lord Elibank. He gives a moſt favourable account of it. I have received a commiſſion for fifteen pipes more; which will enable me to finiſh my ruſtic houſe. The ſucceſs of my work in that country, contributes I, per-

* The ſingularity of this caſtle deſerves a ſhort note. It is an hexagonal edifice with a drawbridge, ſurrounded with deep double trenches, through which flows a living ſtream. The trenches are defended, with an edging of freeſtone. It was built in the reign of Charles the Seventh, to ſerve as a ſtronghold in the Old Caſtle-form. It was then in the poſſeſſion of Meſſieurs de Claude, whoſe laſt heireſs was married to one of the anceſtors of M. de Monteſquieu. The interior parts of this caſtle are in effect not very pleaſing, from the nature of its conſtruction; but M. de Monteſquieu has greatly ornamented the exterior parts, and all the approaches towards this antique manſion, which he has enriched with plantations of his own forming.

ceive,

ceive, not a little to the ſucceſs of my wine. My ſon will not fail to execute that commiſſion. As for a certain perſon in queſtion, he multiplies his injuries by the reciting acknowledgment he makes. He becomes more exaſperated every day, and I become more calm in regard to him. He is for ever dead to me.

The Dean, who is now in my chamber, ſends you a thouſand compliments, and you are one of the canons in this world whom he honours the moſt. He, I, my, wife and children, eſteem and love you, as if one of our family. I ſhall be highly pleaſed to begin an acquaintance with the Count de Sartiranne *. When at Paris, it muſt be your buſineſs to give a favourable impreſſion of me. I pray you will preſent my moſt affectionate compliments to ſuch of my friends as you ſhall ſee. But if you go to Montigni, it is there you muſt pour out the warmeſt effuſions of my heart. You gentlemen of Italy, being remarkable for the pathetic, diſplay, on this occaſion, all the power in that walk with which nature has bleſt you. Make the utmoſt exertion of it to the Ducheſs of *Aiguillon*, and Madame du pre de St. Maure; convince the latter of my moſt ſincere attachment to her †. I am of Lord Elibank's opinion as to the truth of the picture which you made of her.

I muſt conſult you upon an affair, and for this very good reaſon, that I have always found your advice prove advantageous to me. The eccleſiaſtical news-writer, has attributed to me in his

* Ambaſſador from Sardinia to the court of Verſailles, a man of much wit, and a greater dealer in truth than is deſired in modiſh aſſemblies.

† He uſed to ſay of her, that ſhe was equally qualified to make a miſtreſs, a wife, or a friend.

paper,

paper, dated the fourth of June, a pamphlet which I have ſeen but very lately, and is called *A Sequel of the defence of the Spirit of Laws*, compoſed by a proteſtant, an able writer, and a man who has a great deal of wit *. The eccleſiaſtical ſcribbler hath aſcribed it to me with the ſiniſter view of abuſing me in the moſt atrocious terms. I have not thought proper to make any reply, 1ſt, through contempt; 2. becauſe all thoſe who are acquainted with the preſent train of literary affairs, know that I am not the author; ſo that the whole infamy of this charge recoils upon the calumniating caitiff. I do not know what may be the faſhionable mode of thinking now in Paris, or whether, in caſe that this hackney-publication of ſcandal may have made the leaſt impreſſion upon any honeſt minds, to think me author of a compoſition, which certainly no Roman Catholic could write; would it be right for me, I ſay, to give a ſhort anſwer, in a page or two, *cum grano ſalis*. If you ſhould not deem it abſolutely neceſſary, I renounce the very idea, as there is nothing I hate more than to make myſelf talked of. I ſhould be glad to know if there be any relativeneſs between that buſineſs, and the Sorbonne affair. Sequeſtered as I am now in the country, I am ignorant of moſt things, and pleaſed with my ignorance. All this Sir, is between you and me. Let there not be any eſcape from you of my having written to you on the ſubject; becauſe I have adopted it as a principle not to be deſirous of re-entering the liſts with contemptible adverſaries. As I have found myſelf right for doing what you had deſired me to do, when you ſo eagerly preſſed me to write my defence; I ſhall undertake

* The author of this piece was M. de la Beaumelle.

dertake nothing about this matter, but in conſequence of your anſwer.

Huart wants to give a new edition of the Perſian Letters, but there are ſome exceptionable Juvenilia *, that I would fain retouch firſt; although there is nothing ſo juſt, as that a Turk ſhould ſee things, think, and ſpeak, as a Turk, not as a Chriſtian: and to this truth a great many readers of the Perſian Letters do not make a proper attention.

I perceive that poor Clement the Fifth will fall a ſecond time into oblivion, and that you are going to abandon the affairs of Philip le Bel, in order to take up with thoſe of the preſent century. The hiſtory of my country and the republic of letters will be great loſers, but the political world will gain conſiderably by ſuch a manœuvre. Do not fail writing to me from Vienna: and do not forget to manage a continuation of your brother's friendſhip to me. He is one of thoſe military characters †, which I look

* He told ſome friends, that if he were actually to publiſh theſe Letters, he would omit ſome, in which the fire of youth had hurried him too far: that being obliged by his father to paſs all the day upon the code of law, with which he was wont to be ſo fatigued at night, that by way of relaxing amuſement he would ſet about compoſing a Perſian letter, which flowed from his pen, without any intenſity of meditation, or force of ſtudy.

† He was then a major general in the Auſtrian ſervice: had been choſen in the laſt war to act as a quarter maſter general for the Bohemian Army: through which ſtation he ſhared in the victory of Planian. The reputation which he acquired in the memorable defence of Dreſden, and of Schweidnitz, proves that M. de Monteſquieu was well ſkilled in men. He died of an apoplectic fit at Konigſberg, where he was detained priſoner of war, then in the rank of general in chief of the infantry, and knight of the grand croſs of the military order of Maria Thereſa. The Empreſs-queen honoured him with marks of the ſincereſt regret. The loſs of this brave general, to whom even the enemies paid the greateſt reſpect during his captivity, and at his death, might have perhaps been ſuperſeded, if the honourable teſtimonies which the king of Pruſſia gave of his capacity after the ſiege of Schweidnitz had been accompanied with the grace of letting him go to the baths for his recovery, according to a convention made, but verbally indeed, between him and the hoſtile general, upon ſurrendering the place,

upon

upon as predeſtined for bold enterprizes, and heroic actions. Farewell, my dear Abbé, I embrace you with all my heart.

La Brede, October 4, 1752.

LETTER XLV.

To the Same at Vienna.

I HAVE received, my dear Count, your letter from Vienna, dated December 28. I am much afflicted at the loſs of thoſe who had honoured me with their friendſhip. The Prince Lichtenſtein yet remains; whom I entreat you will addreſs with all your powers of eloquence in my behalf. I have received ſome obliging marks of friendly regard from M. Duval, the Emperor's librarian. This man does great honour to Lorain his native country*. Be ſure alſo, to ſay ſomething for me to Mr. Van Swieten, for I ſincerely admire that celebrated Eſculapius†. I ſaw yeſterday Mr. and Ma-

* Keeper of the emperor's private library, this man was the more deſerving of eſteem, becauſe born in a ſituation that removed him far from the culture of letters; he improved his mind in all uſeful knowledge without any inſtructive aſſiſtance, and by the mere dint of his own ſuperior talents.

† It was to him that the bookſellers of Vienna owed the permiſſion of ſelling L'Eſprit des Loix; whoſe even bringing into Vienna had been hindered by a precedent cenſure of the Jeſuits. But the baron Van Swieten is not only the Eſculapius of that imperial city, in the quality of the firſt phyſician to the court; but is alſo the Apollo that preſides over the Auſtrian muſes, as much by his other quality of imperial librarian (which function, by an uſage peculiar to this court, is united to that of firſt phyſician) as by that of the preſident of the cenſure of books, and ſtudies in that country. Notwithſtanding the ſatiric ſtroke in Voltaire's dialogues againſt the two adminiſtrations joined in this learned doctor, Vienna is indebted to him for ſome uſeful alterations made in the courſe of literary ſtudies there; and that illuſtrious poet is indebted to this very gentleman, that his univerſal hiſtory againſt all expectation was allowed to be in the hands of every body, through the imperial territories.

dame

dame de Senectére. You know that I now no longer ſee any perſons, but the fathers and the mothers in thoſe families where I viſit. We ſpoke a great deal about you. He ſeems to have a very ſanguine friendſhip for you.

I have commenced an acquaintance with *—— all I can ſay to you of him is, that he is a magnificent nobleman, and thoroughly ſatisfied with his own parts; but he is not our Marquis de Saint Germain, nor is he an ambaſſador from Piedmont †. Many of thoſe diplomatic heads are in too great a hurry to form a judgment of us; they ought firſt to ſtudy us a little longer. I ſhould be very deſirous of ſeeing the narratives relating to our internal affairs, as ſent by certain ambaſſadors to their reſpective courts. Some indulgence muſt be made to miniſters who are often imbibed with principles of arbitrary power for their not having preciſe notions upon certain articles, and for dealing in Apophthegms, to make up, as it were, for their deficiency of reaſon ‡.

Sorbonne is always on the watch from ſome new attack againſt me; her bedoctered ſons have been now two years at work, without knowing where to begin. If they provoke me to a retort, I believe I ſhall complete their interment. § I ſhould however be

* The name could not be read, the writing being all effaced.

† He was intimately connected with Marquis de Breille, his brother the commander de Solar, and the Marquis de Saint Germain, all three ambaſſadors from Sardinia, the firſt at Vienna, the two others at Paris. They were all three men of the firſt claſs in merit.

‡ The Spirit of Laws being mentioned at an ambaſſador's dinner, he declared that he looked upon it, as the work of a bad citizen. How, replied a friend of his! Monteſquieu a bad citizen? For my part, added he, I look upon The Spirit of Laws to be the work of a good ſubject; for what greater proof can be given of love and fidelity to our Maſters, than to inform and enlighten them.

§ There was juſt publiſhed at that time a ſmall pamphlet, entitled The Tomb of the Sorbonne, under the name of Abbé de Prade.

ſorry

ſorry to be forced to that neceſſity, becauſe I love peace above all things.

It is now a fortnight ſince the Abbé Bonardi has ſent to me a large packet to put in my letter for you; but as I very well know that it contains nothing but old rhapſodies which you would not read, I reſolved on ſparing you the poſtage, by keeping the letter until your return, or that you ſhall write to me to forward it to you, in caſe it ſhould contain any thing elſe beſides the news of the ſtreets.

I have read with a great deal of pleaſure, all that you write to me upon your own account. The obliging expreſſions of the empreſs to you do honour to her diſcernment, and the effects of the good opinion which ſhe manifeſted to you, will do her ſtill more honour. We have read here the anſwer of the king of England to the king of Pruſſia. It is looked upon (among us) as unanſwerable. Now, you who are a doctor of the right of nations, may candidly judge of this affair in your own private opinion.

You have done very right in paſſing through Luneville. I judge from the ſatisfaction I had myſelf in making the like vogage, of that which you muſt have felt from the gracious reception of you by King Staniſlaus. He inſiſted upon my promiſe of making another trip into Loraine. What an inexpreſſible joy if we both ſhould meet there, at your return from Germany. The preſſing manner with which the king ſolicits you in his gracious letter to touch once more at Loraine, ſhould prevail upon you to take that road. And you are now, you ſee, once more brothers in Apollo *, wherefore in that quality I give you an hearty hug.

Paris, March 5, 1753.

* King Staniſlaus had them both aggregated to his academy of Nancy.

LETTER XLVI.

To the ſame Abbé de Guaſco, *at* Vienna.

I FEEL the cogency of your reaſons, my dear Count, for not engaging yourſelf too haſtily, but upon mature deliberation in this affair; yet I fancy that the contrary reaſons for detaining you may preponderate, and that your patriotic ſpirit will yield to them. I now obſerve, and with pleaſure, that what I had heard of the great care taken in the education of the archdukes, is incontrovertibly true. It is not enough to place near their perſons merely learned men; no, they ought to be men of more elevated views, and who have a thorough knowledge of the world, and I believe, without any deſign of alarming your modeſty, that through the energy of ſuch requiſites, nobody has a ſtronger claim to preference than you. The department of the ſtudy of hiſtory is one of the moſt important for a prince. But then he muſt be taught to conſider it as a philoſopher. It is very difficult for one of the regulars, who are men of a pedantic caſt, and from their religious ſituation in life habituated in prejudices, to unfold it in this point of light, and eſpecially where an occaſion preſents itſelf of debating upon times, both critical and intereſting for the empire. If the court can take the thorn out of the department that is propoſed to you, I am too great a friend to the intereſt of mankind not to adviſe you to bound over any difficulties that may ſeem to thwart your proceeding in this affair. With certain precautions the climate of Vienna may be rendered not more unfriendly to your eyes, than was that of Flanders, unleſs you prefer beer to tokay wine. Notwithſtanding

ſtanding the eſtabliſhed ceremonial of court etiquettes *, I am convinced there is too much good ſenſe in the court of Vienna to loſe ſo valuable a man, for the ſake of adhering to ſuch unimportant trifles: and in this article I found an implicit reliance in the ſuperior views of Maria Thereſa. You may obſerve that I do not glance in the leaſt to the brilliant fortune you may make there, becauſe I know that it is not the object that concerns you moſt. I beg you will not conceal your reſolution from me, nor the deciſion of the court, for whoſe ſake I am as much intereſted as for yours.

If you continue in a free ſtate, I adviſe you to perſevere in proſecuting the enterprize you mentioned to me. A canon ought to be better qualified than a profane writer for treating on The Spirit of Eccleſiaſtical Laws. Your plan is very excellent, yet I think repoſe preferable to it; and therefore aſſign this career of glory to your indefatigable zeal. Adieu.

1753.

LETTER XLVII.

To the Same, at Verona.

MY dear Sir, your titles encreaſe ſo faſt, and to ſuch a number, that I doubt if I can remember them.—Let me ſee—Count de Claviéres, Canon of Tournay, Knight of an Imperial Croſs †, Member of the Academy of Inſcriptions, Fellow of the Royal Societies of London, Berlin, and of ſo many others, even down to the humble Academy of

* The cuſtom of the court of Vienna is not to appoint a preceptor in chief for the princes of the blood, but only reſpective preceptors for each particular department in which the royal pupils are to be inſtructed.

† The empreſs had juſt granted (through the ſolicitation of Abbé de Guaſco) a croſs of diſtinction bearing on it the imperial eagle, with the cypher of the name of Maria Thereſa, to the chapter of

Bourdeaux—you deſerve all theſe honours and ſtill greater.

I am glad you have ſucceeded in the negociation for your chapter. It is a happineſs for them to poſſeſs ſuch a man as you, and they were right in deputing you to the court to tranſact their buſineſs, inſtead of detaining you at home to ſing and drink; for I am certain that you negotiate as well as you ſing badly and drink but poorly. I am ſorry, however, for the miſcarriage of that affair which regards you perſonally. You are not the only loſer in conſequence; but then you have your liberty, and let me tell you, that is no ſmall article. This ſtrict adherence to the court etiquette can produce no compenſation for the loſs incurred thereby—I ſtrongly ſurmiſe there are other latent reaſons beſides that of the etiquette, and which the example of other courts might have encouraged to diſpenſe with on the preſent occaſion. When certain perſons have rooted themſelves about the throne of majeſty, they never fail in ſtudying reaſons for the removal of able men, whom they ſhould dread as too clear-ſighted inſpectors of their conduct. Moreover, you are not a *bel eſprit* from the country of Liege, or of Luxemburg—as to the reſt, I put my fingers on my lips.

Your letter has been delivered to me at la Brede where I now am. Like a complete ruſtic, I walk about from morning to night; and make many out of door fine improvements.

You are then ſet out for enchanting Italy. I ſuppoſe the gallery of Florence will detain you for a

Tournay, the moſt ancient of the Low Countries, and into which no perſon can be admitted without giving proofs of nobility. Her majeſty had alſo fixed the requiſite number of the nobility to be proved for admiſſion into the claſs of nobles, and ordered a prohibition againſt any perſon's entering into the claſs of Graduates, without having gone through a regular courſe of ſtudy during five years in the univerſity of Loraine.

long

long time; independently of which, that city in my time, was a charming place to reſide in; and what proved one of the moſt agreeable ſights to me there, was to ſee the firſt miniſter of the Grand Duke ſeated before his door on a little wooden chair, in a ſhort tight coat, with a ſtraw hat on his head. Happy country, ſaid I to myſelf, where the firſt miniſter lives in ſo very ſimple a manner; and ſo totally diſengaged from all the perplexing intrigues of a court life.

You will ſee the Marchioneſs de Feroni there, and Abbé Nicolini; mention me to them: embrace as a proxy for me the noble Cerati at Piſa. As for Turin, you know who are the objects of my eſteem there, namely our Grand Prior, the Marquiſſes de Breil, and de Saint Germain. If any lucky occaſion ſhould offer itſelf, preſent my very dutiful reſpect to his moſt ſerene highneſs. If you write to the Count de Cobetuzel, at Bruxelles, I pray you to thank him for me, and to tell him how much I feel myſelf honoured with his favourable judgment in what concerns me. When there ſhall be miniſters of ſtate like him, then there may be hopes that the taſte for literature will be revived in the Auſtrian ſtates, and then you will hear no more of thoſe groundleſs and erroneous propoſitions, at which you have been ſo much ſcandalized *.

I believe I ſhall be in Paris at the time when you will come thither. I propoſe writing to the Ducheſs of d'Aiguillon to let her know how morti-

* The firſt was on the occaſion of a work he had publiſhed, concerning which a nobleman obſerved to him, it was not becoming a man of family to own himſelf an author. The ſecond was from a military gentleman of the higheſt rank, who ſaid to the Abbé's brother, when ſpeaking of an aſſiduity in the lecture of books, that he profeſſionally made books; and books, added he, are but of little uſe in war; I have never read any, and yet I have been promoted to the firſt rank of military preferment.

fied you are at her having forgotten you. But, my dear Abbé, the ladies do not remember all the knights who declare themſelves their admirers without their having atchieved any exploits of knight errantry. I ſhould be glad to have you eight days at la Brede, after your return from Rome; there would we talk of delicate Italy, and the ſtronger Germany.

Behold Voltaire unhous'd, and ſeeming not to know where he may reſt his head *, *ut eadem tellus quæ modo victori defuerat, deeſſet ad ſepulturam.* Sound ſenſe is a better implement to work with than brilliancy of wit.

You will be ſo good as to pay my court to the duke of Nivernois, when you ſhall ſee him in Rome. I do not think that you want any particular letter of recommendation to him; you are his brother academician; he knows you; however, if you ſhould think one neceſſary, let me know it. Adieu.

La Brede, September 28, 1753.

LETTER XLVIII.

To the Same.

I ARRIVED the night before laſt here from Bourdeaux; I have ſeen nobody as yet, and am more deſirous of writing to you, than of receiving or paying any viſit whatſoever. I ſhall ſee Huart † and if he has not fulfilled your orders, will inſiſt upon his executing them forthwith. You have

* This alludes to his departure from Berlin, and the diſgraceful adventure at Frankfort.

† The Printer of his works at Paris.

greater

greater credit with him than I have. I only give him words, you give him money.

It is very flattering for me that the Auditor Bertolini has found my book good enough for him to take the pains of making it better, and that he has reliſhed my principles. I entreat that on the firſt opportunity you will procure for me a copy of Bertolini's work. Nothing can be better written than his preface. All that he ſays there is juſt, except the encomiums. Say all the kind things you can for me to Abbé Nicolini. I hope dear Abbé, you will come to Paris this winter, and to the titles of Germany, and Italy join thoſe of France. If you paſs through Turin, you know my illuſtrious friends there, to whom pray ſpeak of me, as I embrace you with all my heart.

Paris, December 26, 1754.

LETTER XLIX.

To the Same, at Naples.

I HAVE been in Paris for ſome time, my dear Count. I begin by informing you, that our book man-midwife, Huart, has juſt been with me. He has given me very good reaſons for having fretted you, and ſaid that he will without loſs of time forward your memorial, and an account to you of the ſum due to him.

You have a box filled with the flowers of erudition, which you ſcatter plentifully on all the countries you paſs through. It muſt be very flattering to you to have appeared with honour before the Pope; for he is the Pope of the learned; and the

learned can do nothing better than to chuſe for their head, the man who is head of the church. The offers that have been made, would have proved ſtrong temptations to any other perſon but you, who do not let yourſelf be eaſily tempted, not even by the ſtrong appearances of a fortune; although by your manly ſentiments you ſhould have already made one. The laudable acts you tell me of Count de Firmian *, are not quite new to me. It is your duty to procure me the honour of his acquaintance; it is alſo your buſineſs to bring it about; and if you do not, it was very wicked in you to tell me ſo many fine things of him. I do not remember to have known at Rome the Father Contucci †. The only Jeſuit whom I knew there was the Father Vitri ‡, who uſed to dine often at Cardinal Polignac's. He was a man of much ſeeming importance; he made antique medals, and articles of faith. I have a right to expect that ere long you will write me a letter dated from the Herculaneum, where methinks I ſee you ſcouring through all the ſubterraneous regions. We receive various accounts from it. The articles you ſhall communicate, I will look upon as ſo many informations from a grave author. Do not be apprehenſive of diſguſting me with details, however plain or minute they may be.

* Then the imperial miniſter at Naples, and actually the miniſter plenipotentiary from the ſtates of Lombardy at Milan; a great admirer of M. de Monteſquieu's work, and a friend to the literary men of every nation.

† Librarian of the Roman College, and keeper of the cabinet of antiquities which father Kirker left to this college.

‡ At Rome this Father had great ſhare in the affairs of the conſtitution *unigenitus*. He was a broker in medals; his favourite project was known of making a new ſaint Auguſtin to oppoſe the Auguſtin of *Janſenius*. His principles on that head are ſo extravagant, as to make the paradoxes of Father Hardouin ſeem innocent reveries in compariſon, and the doctrine of Pelagianiſm muſt ſpring up anew to the full extent of its meaning.

I am

I am entirely of your opinion concerning the Diſputes with Malta*. The order nevertheleſs, is perhaps one of the moſt reſpectable inſtitutions in the univerſe, and that which contributes moſt to keep up the true ſpirit of honour and courage throughout the nations where it has diffuſed itſelf. Was it not a bold act in you to addreſs to me, a Capuchin Friar? Were you not afraid leſt I ſhould read to him the Perſian letter againſt the Capuchins?

I ſhall be in the month of Auguſt at la Brede. *O rus quando ego te aſpiciam*; I am no longer fit for this metropolis, I muſt therefore renounce the leading of a city-life. If you ſhould return by the ſouthern provinces of France, you will find your old laboratory; and in return will give me ſome new hints about improving my woods, and my meadows. The great extent† of my heaths preſent a fair opportunity to you of exerciſing your zeal for agriculture. Moreover, I hope that you have not forgotten your being proprietor of an hundred acres of heath, where you may dig up the earth, plant and ſow as much as you pleaſe. Adieu, I embrace you with all my heart.

Paris, April 9, 1754.

* There was a diſpute ariſen between the Court of Naples, and the order of Malta—on account of ſome monaſtical rights, which the King of Sicily pretended to ſtretch to that iſland.

† M. de Monteſquieu caſt the city of Bourdeaux in a ſuit of law, which obtained for him eleven hundred acres of uncultivated downs, where he ſet about forming plantations, coppices, and farm-houſes, agriculture having become the principal occupation of his leiſure hours. He had made a preſent of one hundred acres of this unreclaimed ground to his friend, that he might freely put in practice all notional projects in agriculture; but that gentleman's departure from La Brede, and engagements ſince in other places, have hindered the ſcheme from being carried into execution, and therefore the allotted ground remained untilled, and in a fallow ſtate.

LETTER

LETTER L.

To the Same.

MY dear Abbé, you muſt have received the letter I had written to you at Naples, and the one ſince addreſſed to you at Rome. I now no longer know in what part of the world you are. But as one of your letters marked Auguſt 13, 1754, is dated from Bologna, and announces to me your approaching return to Paris, I addreſs this letter to you at Turin, at your friend's the Marquis de Barol.

I begin by thanking you for not having forgotten the wine of Roche Maurin, and promiſe you that all due attention ſhall be paid in executing Lord Pembroke's commiſſion. It is to my friends, but eſpecially to you, who are at any time worth ten others, that I owe the ſpreading reputation which my wine has acquired through Europe for theſe three or four years paſt. As to payment, that is an article, thank God, I am never in a hurry about. You have not told me if Lord Pembroke, who ſpeaks to you of my wine, remembers my perſon. It is now about two years ſince I took leave of him, full of eſteem and veneration for his excellent qualities. You do not take the leaſt notice of M. de Cloire who was with him, a man of merit, very intelligent, and whom I ſhould be very glad to ſee again. It would afford me the higheſt pleaſure, if your affairs could permit your coming from Turin to Bourdeaux. Now you, who ſee every thing, why not be deſirous of ſeeing again la Brede, and your friends who are all ready to receive you with acclamations, and repeated Io Pæans. But perhaps I ſhall ſee you in Paris—Take notice, you are to look

look no where for a lodging, but in my houſe; and the more ſo now that Mrs. Boyer your hoſteſs heretofore, is deceaſed. When I ſhall have heard that you are arrived at Paris, then will I haſten my departure hence.

What the Pope has told you about the letter from Lewis XIV*, to Clement XI, is indeed a curious anecdote. The confeſſor doubtleſs had not more difficulty to prevail on the king to promiſe that he would command a retractation to be made of the four propoſitions of the clergy; than he met with in making him promiſe to the Pope, that his bull ſhould be received without contradiction. But kings cannot always make good their promiſes: becauſe they often promiſe through too great a reliance on the ſuppoſed fidelity of deſigning men, who adviſe them according to their own intereſted views. Farewell my dear Count, I ſalute and embrace you a thouſand times.

La Brede, November 1754.

* His Holineſs told him, that he had in his hands a letter by which that Monarch had promiſed Clement XI. that he would order his then clergy to retract from the deliberation concerning the four propoſitions of the clergy of France, in the year 1682; that this letter which he ſet ſo high a value on, he had the greateſt difficulty to get from Cardinal Hannibal Albani Camerlingue; and that by way of an equivalent for it, he was obliged to grant him, but not without ſome ſcruple of conſcience (as he ſaid) certain diſpenſations which this cardinal inſiſted upon. Father le Tellier, the confeſſor, went at the ſame time to find Cardinal Polignac, and told him that the King of France being determined to maintain the Pope's infallibility throughout his dominions, he prayed his eminence would lend a vigorous hand, to which the Cardinal replied, "Father, if you undertake any ſuch thing, you will ſoon deſtroy the king." This anſwer cauſed a ſuſpenſion of the Confeſſor's intriguing politics, relative to that affair.

LET-

LETTER LI.

To Mr. Cerati.

I BEGIN by embracing you in every form. I have the honour of preſenting to you a M. de la Condamine, member of the academy of ſcience in Paris. You know his fame, but it is ſtill better to know his perſon; and therefore it is that I preſent him to you, becauſe in my ſenſe you are all Italy to me. Do not forget I entreat you, the man who loves, honours, and eſteems you more than any other perſon in this world.

Bourdeaux, December 1, 1754.

LETTER LII.

To the Abbé Marquis Nicolini.

PERMIT me, dear Abbé, to remind you of a former friend. I recommend to you M. de la Condamine, ſhall ſay nothing more to you of him, than that he is one of my friends; his great fame will tell you many other things, but his preſence ſtill more. My dear Abbé, I ſhall love you until death.

Bourdeaux, December 1, 1754.

LET-

LETTER LIII.

To the Abbé Count de Guaſco.

WELCOME, my dear Count. I do not doubt but my houſe-keeper has taken care to have your bed well warmed — Wearied as you muſt have been by running poſt day and night, and your ſeveral trips to Fontainbleau. All theſe little attentions are neceſſary, in order to recover you from your late fatigue. You are not to leave my apartment, nor Paris, before my arrival there, unleſs your buſineſs to that city were only to give me the diſagreeable information that I ſhall not ſee you more. I find you are bent upon going to Flanders. I would there were as ſufficient reaſons for your tarrying with us, beſides thoſe of friendſhip. But, I perceive, that our biſhops will no longer ſtand in need of any better co-operators, than the D——.*

Could

* Peter D——, was footman to the ſon of Monteſquieu, while he was at the College of Louis le grand. Having learned a little Latin, he ſaid, he felt a vocation for an eccleſiaſtical life, and thro' the interceſſion of a lady, he obtained from the Biſhop of Bayon, of whoſe dioceſe he was a native, permiſſion for taking on the prieſtly habit. When become a beneficed clergyman he came to Paris, to ſolicit M. de Monteſquieu's patronage, to recommend him to the Count de Maurepas for a better benefice that was then vacant. He entreated the preſident would be ſo good, as to take and deliver for him a petition to the miniſter, which began in the following odd manner. *Peter D—— Prieſt of the Dioceſe of Bayon, heretofore employed by the deceaſed Biſhop to diſcover the ſiniſter plots of the Janſeniſts; thoſe perfidious miſcreants, who acknowledge not the ſovereignty of the King, nor the ſupremacy of the Pope*, &c. M. de Monteſquieu having read with aſtoniſhment ſo extraordinary a prelude, folded up the petition and returning it to his Client, ſaid — "Go, Sir, and preſent it yourſelf, it will do you honour, no doubt, and have a much better effect, than if preſented by me" —— But before you

ſet

Could you have believed, that a lacquey metamorphoſed into a fanatical prieſt, and preſerving always the mean ſentiments of his original ſtate, ſhould nevertheleſs ſtart up to figure as one of the dignitaries in a certain chapter. I have many things to communicate if I ſee you in Paris, as I hope I ſhall; for you certainly cannot be angry with, and puniſh a friend, who ſets out on a chace after you, from the moment he gets intelligence where you may be found.

I am very glad that his royal Highneſs the Duke of Savoy, has deigned to accept the dedication of your Italian Tranſlation; which by the rebound is moſt flattering to me, on finding that my work is to make its appearance in Italy, under ſuch illuſtrious and lucky auſpices. I have juſt finiſhed the reading of your tranſlation, and I have throughout obſerved that all my thoughts are rendered with as much perſpicuity as juſtneſs. Your dedication is very well imagined, but I am not a ſufficient maſter of the Italian to be able to pronounce accurately on the merits of ſo elegant a ſtile.

I think that both the project, and the plan of your treatiſe upon the Statutes, are intereſting and beautiful. My curioſity is all awake to ſee it. Farewell.

La Brede, December 2, 1754.

ſet off, you may go into the kitchen, and breakfaſt with my ſervants——which act of humiliation the pious M. D——— never failed practiſing, on the frequent viſits he uſed to make to his former maſter——and yet this wretch roſe ſometime after, to the dignity of being treaſurer to the Chapter of a Cathedral Church in Britany.

LET-

LETTER LIV.

To the Same.

ON account of the uncertainty I am in, whether you will wait for me or not, I write to you once more, before my departure. You are a canon of Tournay; and I cultivate meadows; I ſhall want fifty pounds weight of the ſeed of the Flanders trefoil, which may be ſent to me from Dunkirk by Bourdeaux. I hope you will be ſo kind as to charge ſome friend of yours at Tournay with this commiſſion, for which I ſhall pay you as a gentleman, or what is much better as a merchant, and when you come to la Brede, you ſhall ſee your trefoil bloom in all its glory. Remember, Sir, that all my meadows are of your creation; they are children whoſe education you are ſtill to ſuperintend. I ſhall certainly ſee you ſoon, but that muſt not hinder you from telling agreeable accounts of the Pretender to Mrs. Betty *. She will be the more careful of you in conſequence. I will notify to you by a letter on purpoſe the day of my arrival, which at preſent is unknown to me. But were I not to write, and ſhould appear before you without any previous information given; in ſuch a caſe I ſay, you can readily move your night-ſack, your breviary, and your medals, into my ſon's apartment. When next you ſee Madame Duprée de St. Maure, aſk that lady if ſhe has received a letter from me. Preſent my reſpects to her, and to Mr. de Trudaine our very valuable friend. Abbé, once more I ſay, wait for me.

* A native of Ireland, the preſident's houſekeeper in Paris, and who was very zealous in the cauſe of the Pretender.

Since

Since you are of opinion that I ſhould write to the Auditor Bertolini, I incloſe a letter to you, for him. I embrace you with all my heart.

La Brede, December 5, 1754.

LETTER LV.

To the Auditor Bertolini, *at* Florence.

I HAVE read two articles in your preface, Sir, with which I am greatly pleaſed; and take up my pen to certify it to you: and although I have ſeen them through the medium of ſelf-love, being decorated thereby as for a triumphant feſtival, yet I think I ſhould not have eſpied ſo many beauties, if they had not a real exiſtence. There is one place in particular, which I pray you will retrench, that is concerning the Engliſh; and where you ſay, that I have given a more ſtriking picture of their form of government than any given by their own authors. If the Engliſh find this to be ſo, from the more intimate acquaintance which they muſt have from their own books, we may be ſure, that they will be generous enough to declare it; therefore let us renounce that affair to their deciſion. I cannot refrain from telling you, Sir, how much I was aſtoniſhed at your being ſo thorough a maſter of our language. I have many thanks to pay you, Sir, for your apology in my behalf, that proceeded from your having underſtood my work ſo well, againſt people who ſo perverſely, or ſo little underſtand it, and concerning whom one might ſafely lay a wager, that they had never read it; I am otherwiſe very well pleaſed, and congratulate myſelf, that ſome paſſages in my work, have furniſhed you with an occaſion of making the great queen's

queen's eulogium. I have the honour, Sir, of being with the moſt genuine ſentiments of reſpect and eſteem, your, &c.

La Brede, December 5, 1754.

LETTER LVI.

To Abbé Count de Guaſco.

EVERY thing duly conſidered, I cannot as yet reſolve on giving my romance of Arſaces to be printed *. The triumph of connubial love in the eaſtern parts of the world, is of ſo different a complexion from our manners, as that there is no great likelihood of its being well received in France. I will bring this manuſcript with me to town, there we will read it together. I propoſe likewiſe to lend it to ſome friends for their critical inſpection.

As to my ſeveral voyages, I aſſure you that I mean to arrange them on the firſt leiſure time that I ſhall have; and we will conſult in Paris about the propereſt mode of exhibiting them †. There are too many perſons yet living, of whom I make mention in this intended publication. I jump not implicitly in with the ſyſtem of thoſe, who adviſed M. de Fontenelle, to empty the ſack before his demiſe. The printing of his comedies purſuant to

* This romance has not been printed ſince his death. The manuſcript copy is in the hands of his ſon, the Baron de Secondat. The art of ſound policy, with which it abounds, loſeth as much by this ſuppreſſion, as does conjugal love on which the work is founded.

† He heſitated whether he ſhould reduce the memoirs of his voyages into the form of letters or of plain narrative. But death having prevented, we are deprived hitherto of ſo valuable a work, and written by a philoſophical traveller, who knew how to intellectually penetrate into thoſe objects over which others but inconſiderately glance, with a tranſitory and unenquiring eye.

that advice, has not added in the leaſt to his reputation.

Since you ſometimes plume yourſelf on being an antiquarian, I do not perceive that there can be any inconvenience in giving your collection this title, *The Gallery of the political Portraits of this Age*, and I, who am no antiquarian, ſhould prefer it to that of THE GALLERY OF STATUES. You think perhaps that ſuch a work can be calculated only for the age to come, to which one may be uſeful without incurring any riſk of danger; for as you juſtly obſerve, the characters and perſonal qualities of ſtateſmen and miniſters having ſo great an influence on all public affairs as well as political events, the entrance of their ſanctuary might prove perilous to uninitiated and profane medlers. Farewell.

La Brede, December 8, 1754.

LETTER LVII.

A Billet to the Same.

YOU were preſent yeſterday at the diſpute I had with Mr. de Mairan concerning the Chineſe *. I am afraid I have been too warm upon that matter, and I ſhould have been very much hurt to have given that excellent man any cauſe of uneaſineſs. If you dine to day at M. Trudain's, you will probably

* Theſe two learned gentlemen did not agree in ſome points relating to the Chineſe, in the favour of whom Mr. de Mairan declared, on the authority of Father Paranin, a Jeſuit's letter, of whoſe veracity M. de Monteſquieu doubted not a little. As ſoon as the voyage of Admiral Anſon appeared, the latter triumphantly exclaimed, "I had always ſaid that the Chineſe were not ſuch very honeſt men, as the miſſionary Jeſuit would fain make us to believe them through the channel of their edifying letters,

meet

meet him there; and ſhould you, I pray ſound him a little in order to know if he has taken any thing I ſaid in an unfriendly part. According as you ſhall report, I will take ſuch meaſures towards him as cannot fail of convincing him, that I had no unkind intention, and that I entertain the higheſt regard for his merit and friendſhip.

Paris, 1755.

LETTER LVIII.

To the Grand Prior Solar, *at* Turin.

ALL your excellence can urge is in vain, I do not find the excuſatory reaſons which you advance with ſo much art, are a ſufficient plea for the ſcarceneſs of your writing; therefore will not pardon it, but be revenged on your neglect, by addreſſing you in a ceremonious manner.

I muſt firſt tell you as an article of news, that a counſellor of our parliament has been ſent into exile for having lent his pen to the dreſſing up of a remonſtrance, which the body thought it their duty to preſent to his majeſty. But what is moſt extraordinary, not to ſay incredible, in this affair, is that the ſentence of exile was inflicted, without the remonſtrance having been read.

Abbé de Guaſco is returned from his tour to London, with which he is highly ſatisfied. He talks with the greateſt encomiums of M. and Madame de Mirepoix to whom you recommended him. He ſays they are greatly beloved in that city. Our Abbé is highly enraptured with the ſucceſs of inoculation; and to become maſter of the practice, gave himſelf the trouble of attending a courſe.—He

brought himſelf into a ſcrape the other day, by venturing to praiſe that ſalutary meaſure in the preſence of the Ducheſs de Maine at Sceaux. He was treated as all other apoſtles have been at their firſt daring to preach of truths unknown.

The Ducheſs became quite furious on the occaſion, declaring it was quite obvious to every body, that he had contracted the ferocity of the Engliſh during his ſhort ſtay in their iſland, that it was ſcandalouſly ſhameful for a man of his ſacred character to ſpeak in behalf of a practice ſo repugnant to humanity. I doubt much that his apoſtolic zeal in favour of inoculation, will contribute towards the making of his fortune in Paris. How could he take it into his head I wonder, to think that an Aſiatic cuſtom paſſing through the hands of the Engliſh into Europe, and recommended to us by a ſtranger, could ever ſucceed, or be thought uſeful among the natives of France, who overweeningly in our own behalf, believe ourſelves to be ſpecially inveſted from above, with the excluſive privilege of inſtituting new faſhions, and eſtabliſhing the bon ton in every thing.

The Abbé is intent on a journey into Italy in the next ſpring. He deſires me to aſſure you that he pleaſes himſelf beforehand with the idea of ſeeing you at Turin. I wiſh I could partake of this happineſs in company with him But I believe that my old caſtle and my vats will ſoon call me to the country; for ſince the peace my wine becomes more and more in vogue amongſt the Engliſh, nay much more ſo than even my book. I pray you will ſpeak for me in the tendereſt terms to the Marquis de Breille, and that you will ſoon communicate to me ſome news concerning the two perſons whom I love and reſpect the moſt in the city of Turin.

LET-

LETTER LIX.

The Fragment of a Letter from M. de Monteſquieu, *to the King of* Poland, *Duke of* Lorraine, *to ſolicit his Majeſty for a place in the Academy of* Nantz.

IT is your majeſty's goodneſs in my behalf, that your academy is to form an opinion of whatever my pretenſions to merit may be. From your royal vouching who can doubt my being poſſeſt of a great deal. A laudable zeal impels me to ſeize on every occaſion that may draw me nearer to the ſphere of your royal influence: and when I reflect on the many great qualities that centre in your majeſty, admiration would fain extort expreſſions from which reſpect commands me to withhold.

LETTER LX.

Fragment of the King of Poland's *Anſwer to the foregoing Letter.*

HOW can I do otherwiſe, Sir, but think moſt favourably of the future progreſs of my literary ſociety, from the moment of its having inſpired you with a deſire of being admitted. A name ſo diſtinguiſhed in the republic of letters as yours is, and a merit ſtill greater than that name, muſt prove very flattering to the academy; and whatever circumſtance or incident is ſo to her, affords a real pleaſure to me. I have lately been preſent at one of the private meetings. Your letter to me, which I ordered to be read, cauſed a general joy; whoſe animating ſentiments they are ſoon to communicate to you. This joy would ſtill be greater, could the ſo-

ciety flatter themſelves with the pleaſure of poſſeſſing you now and then. Such a happineſs, of which the members know well the value, would be an additional one to me, who ſhould be highly and truly pleaſed to ſee you again at my court. My ſentiments in regard to you, are invariably the ſame, and I ſhall never ceaſe to be moſt ſincerely yours. Sir, your very affectionate

STANISLAUS, KING *.

LETTER LXI.

To M. de Solignac, *Secretary to the Literary Society at* Nantz.

SIR,

I DO not know any better method of returning my thanks to your literary ſociety, than by paying a tributary homage before I am called upon for one, and by diſcharging the duty of an academician from the moment of my having been nomi-

* This letter was ſent to M. de Monteſquieu at the ſame time with that of the perpetual ſecretary written in the name of the academy. The ſecretary remarked to him, that the ſociety had ſeen with the greateſt joy, the letter written by him to his majeſty. "You demand, Sir, from our academy a favour, which ſhe would have been very deſirous to have firſt ſolicited from you; if an adopted uſage had not prevented it. We think ourſelves very happy to be anticipated by you in our deſires. You, Sir, more than any body elſe, can make us enter into the ſpirit of our laws, and teach us to fulfil the views of that great monarch whom you revere, and whom to pleaſe and render content is our foremoſt wiſh; one ſtep, and not the leaſt laudable towards that patriotic intent, is to have enrolled you one of our academy, which we do with the greater ſatisfaction, as by that means we can acquit ourſelves towards his majeſty, in part of the immenſe debt of gratitude we owe his royal and paternal goodneſs," &c. The ſatisfaction which the academy witneſſed, in ſo chearfully anſwering the deſire of M. de Monteſquieu, was ſoon encreaſed, by that great author's ſending to them a manuſcript entitled *Lyſimachus*. It was accompanied with the following letter, addreſſed to the ſecretary of the ſociety. Therein is contained the reaſon why he had preferred this to any other ſubject.

nated.

nated. In this tract I make a monarch ſpeak, whoſe great qualities had raiſed him to the throne of Aſia, and on whom the ſame very great qualities had brought the ſevereſt reverſes of fortune. I paint him as the father of the country, as the love, and the delight of the people. I thought this ſubject was better ſuited to your ſociety than to any other, and to whoſe members I pray you will preſent my moſt reſpectful compliments.

Paris, April 4, 1751.

LETTER LXII.

From M. de Monteſquieu,

To the Author of a ſhort View of the Philoſophical Works of Lord Bolingbroke.

[Extracted from an Engliſh Gazette of Auguſt 16.]

SIR,

I MOST thankfully acknowledge the receipt of two performances which you have been ſo obliging as to ſend me, as well as the letter which you have honoured me with, concerning the Poſthumous Works of Lord Bolingbroke; but as this letter relates to me more particularly than the works that accompany it, in which all thoſe who are endowed with any reaſon have an equal ſhare, it muſt affect me with a particular pleaſure.

I have read ſome of Lord Bolingbroke's Works, and if I may be allowed to ſpeak my ſentiments thereon, he certainly has a great deal of fire; but he ſeems to me to employ it commonly againſt things, whereas he ſhould employ it only in painting the very things. In thoſe poſthumous works of which you give me a very clear idea, he ſeems to have pre-

pared a continual matter of triumph for you. He who attacks revealed religion, attacks but revealed religion; but he who attacks natural religion, attacks all the religions in the world. If men are taught that they are not to be curbed by one bridle, yet they may think themſelves reſtrainable by another; but how much more pernicious is it to teach them that they are not to own any.

It cannot be deemed impoſſible to attack a revealed religion, becauſe it is founded upon particular facts; and that facts, from their nature, may be even liable to a diſpute. But it is not ſo with natural religion, it is derived from the eſſence of man, which cannot be diſputed, and from the interior ſentiments of man, which alſo cannot be diſputed. To this aſſertion I think it not improper to add the following queſtion; What can be the motive now for attacking revealed religion in England, where it has been ſo effectually purged of all deſtructive prejudices, as that it can do no hurt, but on the contrary produce an infinite deal of good?

I am very ſenſible, that a man in Spain or Portugal who is condemned to be burnt, or fears to be burnt, becauſe he does not believe in certain articles of faith, depending or not depending upon a revealed religion, has very juſt reaſon for attacking it; becauſe by ſo doing, he may conceive ſome hopes of contributing to his own natural ſafety. But the ſame argument cannot be made uſe of in England, where every man who attacks revealed religion, attacks it without any view of an accruing intereſt. Becauſe this opponent, even through ſucceſs, with all the cogent apparatus of reaſon on his ſide, muſt overturn uſual practices, good in themſelves, to eſtabliſh in their place a merely ſpeculative truth. I have been charmed with your work, Sir, &c.

MONTESQUIEU.

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LETTER LXIII.

To the Ducheſs *of* Aiguillon.

I HAVE received, madam, the very obliging letter, with which you were pleaſed to honour me, as I was ſetting out from la Brede to Paris. I ſhall remain however, ſeven or eight days at Bourdeaux for the ſettling of a law ſuit I have there. The motive of my departure hence is not to wait on the faculty of Sorbonne, but on you. I quit la Brede with regret, and the more ſo, becauſe I learn from every quarter, that Paris at this time is very dull. I have received within theſe three or four days a very original letter; it is from a burgher of Paris, who owes me ſome money; he prays me to wait for his payment until the return of parliament; my anſwer to him was, that he might have fixed upon a more certain time.

The ſmall-pox is a terrible peſt to human ſociety; it is a ſecond death, added to that to which we are all deſtined by nature. The ſmiling pictures which Homer draws of dying perſons, as of the flower that falls under the reaper's hook, cannot be applied to the death cauſed by this horrid malady.

I ſhould have had the honour of ſending you thoſe chapters you were pleaſed to deſire, but from your information ſince, that you were no longer in the place, where you ſhould have liked to ſhew them—I propoſe however, carrying them with me to town. You ſhall correct them, and tell me in one place without reſerve, "I don't like that paſſage," and in another, "You ſhould have expreſſed yourſelf thus"—I beſeech you, madam, that you will deign

deign graciouſly to receive the moſt reſpectful ſentiments of MONTESQUIEU.

La Brede, December 3, 1753.

LETTER LXIV.

From the Ducheſs *of* Aiguillon, *to* Abbé de Guaſco.

I HAVE not courage enough, Sir, to relate to you the malady, and much leſs the death of M. de Monteſquieu. Neither the aſſiſtance of phyſicians, nor tender care of friends could ſave ſo valuable a man. I judge of your affliction by my own, "*Quis deſiderio ſit pudor tam Cari capitis.*" — The anxiety of the public during his malady, the univerſal regret of all ranks of people, his majeſty's declaration that the loſs of ſuch a man was irreparable *, reflect great honour on his memory, but afford no conſolation to his friends. Heaven, how I feel for the fatal event! The impreſſion of ſuch an affecting ſpectacle, and the deep-felt grief in conſequence, can be effaced only by the help of time.—But the loſs of a man, like him, to ſociety, muſt be for ever lamented by all thoſe who had the happineſs of knowing his merit. I did not quit him till he became quite ſenſeleſs †, and that was about eighteen hours

* Beſides this declaration, the King of France diſpatched one of his lords from court to bring him news of the Preſident's ſituation.

† This friendly aſſiſtance contributed towards procuring him ſome eaſe in his incurable diſtemper, and the public may perhaps be hereafter obliged to it, for the recovery of ſome literary treaſures from the pen of ſo illuſtrious a writer, which probably it muſt otherwiſe be for ever deprived of. It was diſcovered one day, that while the Ducheſs of Aiguillon was gone home to dine, Father Routh, a Jeſuit, a native of Ireland, and confeſſor to the ſick, came unſummoned. On finding the Preſident alone with his ſecretary, he

hours before his death; Madam du Preé was equally attentive to a dying friend. The Chevalier de Jaucour * did not leave him till the very laſt moment, juſt as he expired. I am, moſt worthy Abbé, your devoted ſervant, &c.

De Pontchartain, February 17, 1755.

LETTER LXV.

An article taken from a Letter of Baron Secondat de Monteſquieu, *to the* Abbé Count de Guaſco.

I COULD not read your letter from Florence dated the 8th of February, without a mixed ſenſe of

he made the latter quit the room, and locked himſelf in with the patient. The Ducheſs of Aiguillon who returned immediately after dinner, on ſeeing the ſecretary in the antichamber, aſked what was the meaning of his being there. He replied, "That Father Routh had ordered him to withdraw, having as he ſaid ſomething to ſay to the Preſident in private." Alarmed at this, the Dutcheſs approaching ſoftly towards the door of the chamber, heard M. de Monteſquieu ſpeaking with ſome emotion; ſhe immediately knocked at, and the Jeſuit opened the door; to whom ſhe rebukingly ſaid, "*Why thus torment a dying man?* Then the Preſident added, "Here, madam, is Father Routh, who wants me *to deliver up to him the key of my bureau, that he may carry off my papers.*" The Ducheſs reproached him ſeverely for ſuch ill-timed and brutal behaviour—All the excuſe he offered, was, that he muſt obey the order of his ſuperiors. However, he was ſent off with contempt, and without obtaining his errand.

It was this meddling Jeſuit, who after the Preſident's deceaſe, in a fictitious letter to Mr. Gautier, then Nuncio from the Pope, made M. de Monteſquieu to declare, that the ſource of all his writings, ſprang from a deſire of novelty, of being ſingular in opinion, of being thought a genius ſuperior to vulgar prejudices and common maxims, of attracting the applauſe of thoſe faſhionable people, who give *the ton*, are ever ready to extol and patroniſe thoſe works which encourage them to ſhake off all moral yoke, and religious dependency. This Father Routh had the impudence to publiſh the ſaid forged declaration, ſo foreign from the known ſincerity of that great writer, in the Utrecht Gazette, immediately after his death.

* This gentleman, a very intimate friend of M. de Monteſquieu, had applied very cloſely to the medical art, which he practiſed merely through a liking for that ſtudy, and to ſerve his friends. He has furniſhed more articles to the Encyclopedy, than any other author.

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the higheſt pleaſure, and of the warmeſt gratitude. I have long known by reputation, Marquis Nicolini, and the nobly born Cerati. I have heard my father ſpeak of them an hundred times, in the moſt affectionate terms, and which painted in the moſt lively manner, that mutual ſympathy which glowed between their ſouls and his. I chearfully accept of your offer *, and theirs; they are too honourable to the memory of my father, not to accede to them with all due reſpect, and tenderneſs of gratitude.

Some academicians I know, will contribute with pleaſure towards the expence. But we can lay no very great ſtreſs upon ſuch aſſiſtance. I even cannot take upon me to ſay how far their generoſity might ſtretch on this occaſion. I do not know whether we Frenchmen may be chargeable with too much vanity, if we think that our ſculptors are equally excellent with thoſe of Italy. A bargain however, was actually made with M. le Moine, who is a moſt generous and diſintereſted man.

The French academy, having deſired to have a portrait † of my father, and the moſt famous pain-

* This friendly gentleman had written to him that Mr. Cerati, and Abbé Nicolini, although they were not members of the Academy of Bourdeaux, were deſirous of joining in the offer which had already been made by him to contribute towards the expence of erecting a marble ſtatue, to the memory of M. de Monteſquieu, and which ſhould be executed by the ableſt ſculptors in Italy, to be a ſuitable ornament for the aſſembly room. This offer was made, in order to facilitate a reſolution of the academy to erect ſuch a monument, but was retarded through deficiency of caſh in their coffer.

† M. de Monteſquieu was never deſirous of having himſelf painted, and it was not without much difficulty that he was prevailed on by the entreaties of Abbé de Guaſco, when at Bourdeaux with him, to let a young Italian painter, who was then paſſing through that city from Spain, to execute a picture of him, which that gentleman now has: it bears a tolerable reſemblance to, and is the only one exiſting, that was taken from nature. He has been often heard to ſay, that the young artiſt declared to him, he had never painted any perſon, whoſe phyſiognomy changed ſo much from one moment to another, or who had ſo little patience in accommodating his countenance.

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ters of Paris, having refuſed to undertake the taſk, on account of the obvious difficulty againſt ſucceeding from the aſſiſtance only of a medal that was ſtruck off by ſome Engliſh artiſts. Notwithſtanding this impediment, Mr. le Moine, has moſt obligingly offered his ſervice, to aſſiſt a young painter with the help of a large medallion, which he has been ſo kind as to make a very ſtrong reſemblance of the ſmall medal. Now, M. le Moine, from having imprinted on his mind the figure of my father, will be better enabled than any other artiſt, to execute a buſt of him in marble. He has moreover preſerved the model he has made, which he has ſhewn to ſeveral perſons who knew my father intimately, and who have pointed out to him whatever faults were remaining in his former efforts, which certainly is another reaſon for his ſucceeding in a work of conſequence.

Bourdeaux, March 25, 1765.

LETTER LXVI.

Article of a Letter to the Same.

I perceive that you have not received the letter I had the honour of writing to you from Paris, in which I have amply explained myſelf concerning the Buſt for the author of *The Spirit of Laws*—The Prince of Beauvau having been appointed commander of Guienne in 1765, ſeemed deſirous of obtaining a ſeat in the academy of Bourdeaux; which was immediately offered to him, and he accepted of. He prayed the Academicians would have no objection to his preſenting them with a marble buſt of the author

author of *The Spirit of Laws*, to be placed in their Aſſembly Room, which requeſt was aſſented to with the warmeſt gratitude. M. le Moine is now at work upon this Buſt, and it will ſoon be finiſhed.

If your noble friend Mr. Cerati, and the Marquis Nicolini might be deſirous of becoming foreign aſſociates to the academy of Bourdeaux; I ſhould glory in propoſing them, through the principles of eſteem and gratitude—I am not ignorant that a thouſand advantages and recommendatory things may be ſaid in their behalf; for my father never uſed to ſpeak to me of them but with the moſt friendly and reſpectful ſentiments—Now, as I do not exactly remember all he has ſaid to me on their account, I ſhall be enabled to ſpeak better of them through your inſtructions, which pray do not fail communicating to me: moreover, as an old member of our Academy, you are in duty bound to intereſt yourſelf in whatever may contribute to its glory.

Bourdeaux.

END OF THE FAMILIAR LETTERS.

MISCELLANEOUS

PIECES

OF

M. DE SECONDAT,

BARON DE MONTESQUIEU.

AN ORATION

Pronounced the 24th of January, 1728,

BY

PRESIDENT MONTESQUIEU,

When he was received into the French Academy, in the room of the late M. de SACY.

GENTLEMEN,

BY beſtowing upon me the place of M. de Sacy, you have not ſo much taught the public what I am, as what I ought to be.

It was not your intention to compare me with him, but to point him out to me as a model.

Formed for ſociety, he was amiable, he was uſeful in it; his manners were eaſy and agreeable; his morals were ſtrict and ſevere.

To a fine genius he joined a ſtill more excellent heart: the qualities of his head held only the ſecond place in him; they were an ornament to his merit, but not its principal ſource.

He wrote to inſtruct; and while inſtructing, he always made himſelf be beloved. Every thing in his works breathes a ſpirit of candor and probity. They make us feel and confeſs the goodneſs of his heart: we never diſcover the great man, but along with the man of honour.

He followed virtue from natural inclination; he was ſtill more attached to it by his ſtudies. He was of opinion that having wrote upon morality, it became him to be more ſtrict in his conduct than

others; that there could be no excuſe for him, ſince he had laid down the rules of duty; that it would be ridiculous if he himſelf could not do what he believed all men capable of doing; that it would be an abandoning of his own maxims; and that he would at the ſame time have had reaſon to bluſh for what he had done, and for what he had ſaid.

In what a noble manner did he exerciſe his profeſſion? All who ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance became his friends. At the end of each day, he hardly met with any other reward but that of ſome additional good action: always leſs rich, and always more diſintereſted, he hath left his children ſcarce any thing more than the honour of having had ſo illuſtrious a father.

Gentlemen, you love virtuous men; you do not overlook, even in the fineſt genius, any ill quality of the heart; and you look upon talents, without virtue, as fatal preſents, only proper to add ſtrength to our vices, or to render them more conſpicuous.

And by this you are indeed worthy of thoſe great protectors who have intruſted you with their glory, who have wiſhed to be tranſmitted down to poſterity, but who have wiſhed to be ſo along with you.

Many orators and poets have celebrated them; but it is only you who have been eſtabliſhed to render them, ſo to ſpeak, a perpetual homage.

Full of zeal and admiration for thoſe great men; you are always recalling them to our remembrance. You are continually celebrating them; and yet ſo ſurpriſing is the effect of your art, your eulogiums appear always new.

You always excite our admiration and wonder, when you celebrate that great miniſter, who out of chaos reduced the rules of monarchy to a regular ſyſtem; who taught France the ſecret of her ſtrength,

Spain

Spain that of her weakneſs; freed Germany from her chains, gave her new ones; broke every power in its turn, and deſtined, ſo to ſpeak, Lewis the Great for the great actions which he afterwards performed.

You never reſemble each other in your *Eloges* of that chancellor, who neither abuſed the confidence of kings, nor the obedience and ſubmiſſion of the people; and who, in the exerciſe of magiſtracy, was without paſſion like the laws, which abſolve and and puniſh without love or hatred.

But, above all, we are charged to behold you with emulation ſtrive to draw the portrait of Lewis the Great, that portrait every day begun and never finiſhed, every day more advanced and more difficult. Hardly can we conceive the wonders of that reign which you celebrate. When you repreſent to us ſciences every where encouraged, arts protected, belles lettres cultivated, we imagine we hear you talking of a reign of peace and tranquillity. When you ſing of wars and victories, you ſeem to us to be relating the hiſtory of ſome nation ruſhing from the north to change the face of the earth. Here we ſee the king, there the hero. It is thus that a majeſtic river is turned into a torrent that deſtroys every thing that oppoſes its paſſage: it is thus that the ſky appears to the huſbandman clear and ſerene, whilſt, in the neighbouring country, it is covered over with fire, lightning and thunder.

Gentlemen, you have aſſociated me with yourſelves in your labours, you have raiſed me to your own dignity; and I return you thanks for permitting me to know you better, and more nearly to behold and admire you.

I return you thanks for giving me a particular right to write the actions of our young monarch. May he delight to hear thoſe encomiums which are

given to pacific princes! May that immenſe power which is put in his hands, be a pledge of the happineſs of all! May all the earth repoſe itſelf under his throne! May he be the king of one nation, and the protector of every other! May every people love him; may his ſubjects adore him; and may there not be one ſingle perſon in the univerſe who ſhall grieve at his happineſs, or dread his proſperity! May thoſe fatal jealouſies, which render men the enemies of men, at laſt periſh! May human blood, that blood which always pollutes the earth, be ſpared! And that this great object may be obtained, may that miniſter who is neceſſary to the world, who is ſuch a one as the people of France ſhould have aſked of heaven, continue to give counſels which penetrate the heart of a prince always ready to do every good action that is propoſed to him, or to repair that ill which he was not the author of, and which time has produced!

Lewis has ſhewn, that as people are ſubjected to the laws, princes are ſo to their promiſes, which are ſacred: that great kings who cannot be ſo by any other power, are invincibly bound by thoſe chains which they make for themſelves, like that God whoſe repreſentatives they are, who is always independant, and always faithful to his promiſes. How many virtues does a faith, ſo religiouſly obſerved, preſage! Such ſhall be the deſtiny of France, that after having been agitated under the Valois, ſettled under Henry, aggrandized under his ſucceſſor, victorious or invincible under Lewis the Great, it ſhall be perfectly happy under him who ſhall not be obliged to conquer, and who ſhall place all his glory in governing.

AN

ESSAY

UPON

TASTE,

IN SUBJECTS OF NATURE, AND OF ART.

A FRAGMENT.

ACCORDING to the preſent conſtitution of our being, the ſoul enjoys three ſorts of pleaſure. That derived from its very exiſtence; that which reſults from its union with the body; and that founded upon the turn and prejudices it has received from certain inſtitutions, cuſtoms, and habits.

It is the different pleaſures of the ſoul which form the objects of taſte; as, the beautiful, the good, the agreeable, the ſimple, the delicate, the tender, the graceful, the inexpreſſible charm, the noble, the grand, the ſublime, the majeſtic, &c. For example, when we receive pleaſure from the view of what we perceive to be uſeful to ourſelves, we ſay that it is good; when we feel pleaſure in beholding it, without perceiving any preſent advantage, we call it beautiful.

This the antients did not properly diſtinguiſh; they conſidered all the relative qualities of the mind as merely poſitive: hence thoſe dialogues in which Plato makes Socrates reaſon, thoſe dialogues ſo

much admired by the antients, are at preſent inſupportable, becauſe, they are founded upon a falſe philoſophy; for all reaſonings drawn from the good, the beautiful, perfect, wiſe, fooliſh, hard, ſoft, dry, wet, when treated as things poſitive, are now of no weight.

The ſources of the beautiful, the good, the agreeable, &c. are then in ourſelves, and to inquire into their cauſes, is to inquire into the cauſes of our mental pleaſures.

Let us then examine the mind; let us ſtudy it in its actions, and in its paſſions; let us ſeek for it in its pleaſures, it is there where it ſhews itſelf moſt. Poetry, painting, ſculpture, architecture, muſic, dancing, the different kinds of games; and in a word the works of nature and art, can give it pleaſure: let us ſee why, how, and when, they give it; let us endeavour to account for our ſenſations: this may contribute to form the taſte; which is nothing elſe but an ability of diſcovering, with delicacy and quickneſs, the degree of pleaſure which every thing ought to give to man.

OF

OF THE PLEASURES OF THE SOUL.

THE ſoul, independently of thoſe pleaſures it derives from the ſenſes, has ſome which it would have without them, and are proper to itſelf. Such are thoſe it derives from curioſity, the ideas of its own grandeur and perfections, the idea of its exiſtence, oppoſed to the thought of annihilation, the pleaſure of embracing the whole of a general idea, that of viewing a multiplicity of objects at once, and that of comparing, joining, and ſeparating ideas. Theſe pleaſures are, from the nature of the ſoul, independent of the ſenſes, becauſe they belong to every being that thinks: and it is of ſmall conſequence to examine here, whether the ſoul has theſe pleaſures, as a ſubſtance united to the body, or as ſeparated from it, becauſe it always has them, and they are the objects of taſte: on which account we ſhall not diſtinguiſh here the pleaſures that flow from the nature of the ſoul, from thoſe that reſult from its union with the body; theſe we ſhall call natural pleaſures, and diſtinguiſh them from thoſe which the ſoul creates to itſelf, by certain aſſociations with theſe natural pleaſures; and in the ſame manner, and for

the ſame reaſon, we ſhall diſtinguiſh natural and acquired taſte.

It is proper we ſhould know the ſources of thoſe pleaſures of which taſte is the judge. The knowledge of natural and acquired pleaſures may ſerve to rectify our natural and acquired taſte. We muſt begin with conſidering the nature of our being, and know what its pleaſures are, to be able at laſt to meaſure thoſe pleaſures, and even ſometimes to feel them.

If the ſoul had not been united to the body, it would have had clear intelligence, and it is probable that it would have loved what it fully underſtood: at preſent we ſcarcely love any thing that we are thoroughly acquainted with.

Our manner of exiſting is entirely arbitrary; we might have been made as we are, or otherwiſe: but if we had been made otherwiſe, we ſhould have had different feelings; one organ, more or leſs, in our machine, would have given riſe to another kind of eloquence, another kind of poetry; a different contexture of the ſame organs would have ſtill produced another ſort of poetry; for example, if the conſtitution of our organs had rendered us capable of a longer attention, all the rules about proportioning the diſpoſition of a ſubject to the meaſure of our attention, would have been at an end; if we had been made capable of more penetration, all the rules founded upon the degree of our penetration, would have fallen to the ground. In a word, all the laws formed from the contexture of our machine would be different if our machine was not formed in that manner.

If our ſight had been weaker, and more confuſed, fewer mouldings, and greater uniformity, would have been neceſſary in the parts of architecture; if

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it had been more diſtinct, and the mind capable of embracing more things at once, more ornaments would have been proper in architecture: if our ears had been made as thoſe of certain animals, our muſical inſtruments muſt have been much altered. I am very ſenſible, that the relations which things have among themſelves would have ſubſiſted; but the relation which they have with us being changed, things which at preſent have a certain effect upon us, would have it no more: and as the perfection of art conſiſts in preſenting things to us in ſuch a way as to give us the greateſt pleaſure poſſible, there muſt have been a change made in the arts, becauſe there muſt have been one made in the manner moſt proper to give us pleaſure.

We are at firſt ready to believe that the knowledge of the different ſources of our pleaſure is ſufficient to conſtitute taſte; and that when we know what philoſophy has told us on the ſubject, we have taſte, and may boldly judge of works. But natural taſte is not a theoretical knowledge; it is a quick and exquiſite application of rules which we do not even know. It is not neceſſary to know, that the pleaſure we receive from any thing we think beautiful, ariſes from ſurpriſe; it is enough that it does ſurpriſe us, and that it ſurpriſes as much as it ought, and that neither more nor leſs.

Thus what may here be ſaid, and all the precepts that might be given to form the taſte, can only relate immediately and directly to that which is acquired, though it may have an indirect relation to natural taſte: for the acquired taſte affects, changes, augments, and diminiſhes the natural taſte; as the natural taſte affects, changes, augments, and diminiſhes that which is acquired:

The

The moſt general definition of taſte, without conſidering whether it be good or bad, juſt or not, is that ariſing from ſenſation; but this does not prevent its being applied to things that are intellectual, the knowledge of which gives ſuch pleaſure to the ſoul, that by ſome philoſophers it was conſidered as the only felicity. The ſoul underſtands by its ideas, and by its ſenſations; it receives pleaſure by thoſe ideas and thoſe ſenſations: for though we oppoſe idea to ſenſation, yet while it ſees a thing, it feels it; and there are no objects ſo intellectual, that it does not ſee, or believes it ſees, and conſequently that are not felt.

OF THE MENTAL FACULTIES*.

Among the faculties of the mind are genius, good ſenſe, diſcernment, juſtneſs, capacity, and taſte.

The exiſtence of theſe faculties conſiſts in having the organs well conſtituted relatively to the things to which theſe faculties are applied. If this diſpoſition of mind is very particular, it is named a talent or capacity for any thing; if it has an intimate connection with certain delicate pleaſures, it is called taſte; if it is a diſpoſition or turn peculiar to a people, it is called their ſpirit; as the art of war and agriculture among the Romans, hunting among the ſavages, &c.

* The title of this article is, De l'Eſprit, a word which includes not only the mind, but almoſt all its faculties. Indeed the difference of the two languages renders it perhaps impoſſible to do juſtice to our author in tranſlating this eſſay.

OF CURIOSITY.

The ſoul is made to think, that is, to perceive; now ſuch a being muſt have curioſity; for as all things are in a chain, where every idea precedes one, and is followed by another, we cannot like to ſee one thing, without deſiring to ſee another; and if we had no deſire for this, we could have no pleaſure in that. Thus, when a part of a picture is ſhewed us, we wiſh to ſee the part that is concealed from us, in proportion to the pleaſure which that part we have ſeen has given us.

It is then the pleaſure which one object gives us that incites us to follow another; it is on this account that the ſoul is always in purſuit of novelty, and is never at reſt.

Thus, we ſhall always be certain of pleaſing the mind, by making it ſee a great many things, or more than it had hoped to ſee.

By this we may explain the reaſon why we behold with pleaſure a very regular garden, and at the ſame time are pleaſed when we view a rural uncultivated ſcene: it is the ſame cauſe which produces theſe effects.

As we love to ſee a great many objects, we wiſh to extend our view, to be in different places and to enlarge our proſpects; in ſhort, the mind ſtretches beyond all bounds, and wiſhes, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to extend the ſphere of its preſence: hence ariſes the pleaſure of viewing diſtant objects. But how is this to be done? in cities our proſpect is confined by houſes; and in the country, by a thouſand obſtacles; ſcarce can we ſee a few trees. But here art comes to our aſſiſtance, and diſcovers nature who ſeeks to be concealed; hence we are in love with art,

art, and admire her more than nature, that is, than nature concealed from our ſight: but when we find beautiful ſituations, when the eye, left at liberty, can range far over the meadows, the rivulets, the hills, and thoſe diſpoſitions of nature, which are in a manner created on purpoſe to captivate the eye, we are quite otherwiſe enchanted than when we view the gardens of Le Notre; becauſe nature is always an original, and art only copies her. Thus in painting we are better pleaſed with a rural landſkip, than with the moſt beautiful garden upon earth; becauſe painting chuſes nature only where ſhe is moſt beautiful, where the eye can extend its view as far as it can reach, and where ſhe may be ſeen with moſt pleaſure.

That which commonly conſtitutes a great idea, is, when ſomething is ſaid, that makes us perceive a great many others, and diſcovers to us all at once what we could not have expected but after a great deal of reading.

Florus, in a few words, repreſents to us all Hanibal's faults; "When he might, ſays he, have made uſe of his victory, he choſe rather to enjoy it:" *Cum victoria poſſet uti, frui maluit.*

He gives us an idea of the whole Macedonian war, when he ſays, "To have entered into it was victory:" *Introiſſe victoria fuit.*

He gives us a view of the whole life of Scipio, when, ſpeaking of his youth he ſays, "This will be that Scipio, who grows up for the deſtruction of Africa:" *Hic erit Scipio qui in exitium Africæ creſcit.* You think you ſee a child who increaſes and grows up like a giant.

In a word, he makes us ſee the great character of Hanibal, the ſtate of the world, and all the grandeur of the Roman people, when he ſays, "Hanibal,

" Hanibal, a fugitive from Africa, ſought over all the world an enemy to the Roman people." *Qui profugus ex Africa, hoſtem populo Romano quærebat.*

OF THE PLEASURES OF ORDER.

It is not enough to preſent a great many objects to the ſoul; they muſt be preſented with order: for then we remember what we have ſeen, and we begin to imagine what we ſhall ſee; our mind congratulates itſelf on its own extent and penetration: but in a work where there is no order, the mind, every moment, finds that order, into which it wiſhes to put things, quite embroiled. The ſeries which the author has formed, and that which we make to ourſelves, claſh together; the mind retains nothing, foreſees nothing: it is mortified by the confuſion of its ideas, by the ignorance in which it remains; it is in vain fatigued, and can enjoy no pleaſure: on which account, when the deſign is not to expreſs or ſhew confuſion, they always put a ſort of order in confuſion itſelf: thus painters make a group of their figures; thus thoſe who paint battles, place, upon the moſt conſpicuous place of the picture, thoſe objects which the eye ought to diſtinguiſh, and what is diſordered and confuſed in the moſt remote and leaſt obvious place.

OF THE PLEASURES OF VARIETY.

But if order in objects is neceſſary, variety is ſo alſo: without this the ſoul grows languid; for objects, which reſemble each other, appear to it to be the ſame; and if one part of a picture, which is ſhewn us, ſhould reſemble another which we have ſeen, this object would be new without appearing to be

be ſo, and would afford us no pleaſure. And, as the beauties of the works of art conſiſt in the pleaſures which they afford us, they ought to be made as fit as poſſible to vary thoſe pleaſures; the mind ought to be ſhewn objects which it has not ſeen; the ſentiment it is inſpired with ought to be different from that which it had before.

It is thus that hiſtories pleaſe us by the variety of relations; romances, by the variety of prodigies; theatrical pieces, by the variety of paſſions; and that they, who know properly how to inſtruct us, vary, as much as they can, the uniform ſtrain of inſtruction.

A long uniformity renders any thing inſupportable; the ſame order of periods a great while continued, quite fatigues us in an oration; the ſame numbers, and the ſame cadences, make a long poem extremely tireſome. If it be true that they have finiſhed the famous road from Moſcow to Peterſburg, the traveller muſt be tired to death, ſhut up between the two rows of that alley; and one, who ſhould travel a long time upon the Alps, would come down from them diſguſted with ſituations moſt agreeable, and points of view the moſt charming.

The ſoul loves variety; but it does not love it, as we have ſaid, but becauſe it is formed to know and to ſee: it muſt then be poſſible for it to ſee, and the variety muſt permit it to do ſo; that is to ſay, an object muſt be ſimple enough to be perceived, and varied enough to be perceived with pleaſure.

There are ſome things which appear varied, and are not ſo; and others which appear uniform, and are much varied.

The Gothic architecture appears extremely varied, but the confuſion of its ornaments fatigues us by their ſmallneſs; which makes it impoſſible for us to diſtinguiſh

tinguiſh them from each other, and their number prevents the eye from fixing upon any one of them; ſo that it diſguſts us by thoſe very parts which were intended to render it agreeable.

A building of the Gothic order is a kind of riddle to the eye which beholds it; and the mind is embarraſſed in the ſame way as when an obſcure poem is preſented to it.

The Grecian architecture, on the contrary, appears uniform, but as it has as many diviſions as it ought, and as are proper to make the Mind ſee preciſely as much as it can without being fatigued, and at the ſame time enough to give it employment, has that Variety which makes it be beheld with pleaſure.

Great objects ought to have great parts; large men have large arms, great trees have great branches, huge mountains are divided into other mountains bigger and leſs in proportion; 'tis the nature of things which does this.

The Grecian architecture, which has few diviſions and grand ones, imitates the nature of things; the Soul is ſtruck with a certain majeſty, which every where abounds in it.

'Tis thus that painting divides, into groupes of three or four figures, what it repreſents in a picture; it imitates Nature; a numerous troop is always divided into platoons; 'tis thus too that the painter makes grand diviſions of his light and ſhade.

OF THE PLEASURES OF SYMMETRY.

I have ſaid that the mind loves variety: however, in moſt things, it loves to ſee a certain ſymmetry. This ſeems to imply a ſort of contradiction: I thus explain it.

One

One of the principal cauſes of the pleaſure of our Soul, when it perceives objects, is the facility with which it perceives them; and the reaſon that makes proportion pleaſe the Mind, is, that it ſaves it trouble, that it gives it eaſe, and that, ſo to ſpeak, it cuts the work into halves.

From this a general rule is derived; every where that ſymmetry is uſeful to the ſoul, and can aſſiſt its functions, it is agreeable to it; but wherever it is uſeleſs to it, it is inſipid becauſe it takes away variety. Now thoſe things which we ſee in ſucceſſion ought to have variety, for our mind has no difficulty to perceive them; thoſe, on the contrary, which we perceive all at once, ought to have ſymmetry. Thus, as we perceive with one glance of our eye the front of a building, a parterre, a temple, they are with propriety proportioned; which pleaſes the Mind by that facility which it gives it of embracing all at once the whole object.

As it is neceſſary that an object, which we ought to ſee all at once, ſhould be ſimple, it is neceſſary too that it be one, and that all its parts have a relation to the principal object: it is for this reaſon alſo that we love ſymmetry, it makes an united whole.

It is according to Nature, that a whole be compleat, and the Mind, which ſees this whole, wiſhes that it may have no part imperfect. It is on this account alſo that we love ſymmetry; there muſt be a ſort of poiſing or balancing; and a building with one wing, or one wing ſhorter than another, is as unfiniſhed, as a body with one arm, or one arm too ſhort.

OF CONTRASTS.

THE ſoul loves ſymmetry, it alſo loves contraſts; this requires to be a good deal explained. For example; if Nature requires of painters and ſculptors to proportion the parts of their figures, it requires alſo that they contraſt their different attitudes. One foot placed like another, one member extended like another, are inſupportable; the reaſon of it is, becauſe this ſymmetry makes the attitudes be almoſt always the ſame; which we may obſerve in Gothic figures, which by this almoſt always reſemble each other; thus there is no more variety in the works of Art. Beſides, Nature has not made us thus, and, as ſhe has given us motion, ſhe has not formed us in our actions and manners like pagods; and if men thus ſtiff and conſtrained are intolerable, what muſt it be in the productions of art?

The attitudes muſt then be contraſted, eſpecially in works of ſculpture, which, naturally languid, cannot be animated but by the force of contraſt and ſituation.

But, as we ſaid that the variety which they have endeavoured to give the Gothic, has made it quite uniform; it has often happened, that that variety, which they have endeavoured to give us by the means of contraſts, has become a vicious ſymmetry and uniformity.

This is not perceived in certain works of painting and ſculpture only, but alſo in the ſtyle of ſome writers, who, in every phraſe, contraſt the beginning with the end by perpetual antitheſes; ſuch as St. Auguſtine and other authors of the low Latin, and ſome of our moderns, as St. Evremont. The turn of the phraſe, always the ſame, and always uniform,

diſpleaſes extremely; this perpetual contraſt becomes Symmetry, and this oppoſition, always ſtudiouſly ſought for, becomes uniformity.

The mind finds ſo little variety in it, that when you have ſeen one part of the phraſe, you gueſs at the other: you ſee words oppoſed to each other, but oppoſed always in the ſame manner: you ſee a turn of phraſe, but it is always the ſame.

Many painters have fallen into this fault of putting contraſts every where, and without art: ſo that when one ſees one figure, the diſpoſition of thoſe next it can eaſily be divided: this continual diverſity becomes ſomething of a reſemblance. Beſides, Nature, which places every thing in diſorder, never diſcovers an affectation of a perpetual contraſt; without adding further, that ſhe does not put all bodies in motion, and in a forced motion; ſhe is more various than to do this; ſhe places ſome in reſt, and gives to others different kinds of movement.

If the intelligent part of the ſoul loves variety, the ſenſitive part of it is no leſs fond of it; for the ſoul cannot long bear the ſame ſituation, becauſe it is joined to a body, which cannot endure it. That our ſoul may be excited, the ſpirits muſt flow in the nerves: but there are in this two things, a laſſitude in the nerves, and an intermiſſion of ſpirits which flow no more, or are diſſipated from thoſe places where they run.

Thus at length every thing fatigues us, eſpecially great pleaſures: we quit them always with as much pleaſure as we began them; for the fibres, which were the organs of them, have need of reſt; we muſt make uſe of others more proper to be of ſervice to us, and, ſo to ſpeak, make a proper diviſion of our toil.

Our

Our ſoul grows tired with enjoyment; not to perceive any pleaſure at all is to fall into a ſtate of lifeleſs inſenſibility, which quite oppreſſes it. We find a remedy for all this by varying its modifications: it feels, and it does not grow tired.

OF THE PLEASURES OF SURPRIZE.

This diſpoſition of the Soul, which carries it always to different objects, makes it reliſh all the Pleaſures which flow from Surprize; a ſentiment which pleaſes the Soul by the object which it beholds, and by the ſuddeneſs of the action; for it perceives or feels ſomething which it does not expect, or in a manner which it did expect.

A thing may ſurprize us as wonderful, and, at the ſame time, as new, and alſo as unexpected; and, in theſe laſt caſes, the principal ſentiment is united to this acceſſory one, that the thing is new or unexpected.

It is by this that games of hazard intereſt us; they preſent us with a continued ſeries of unexpected events: 'tis by this that ſocial games pleaſe us; they too are a ſet of unforeſeen events, brought about by addreſs joined to chance.

It is by this alſo that we are pleaſed with theatrical pieces; they are unravelled by degrees, the events are concealed till they happen, new ſubjects of ſurprize are always prepared for us, and they often afford us a ſenſible pleaſure, by ſhewing the events to be ſuch as we ought to have foreſeen they would be. In a word, works of genius, are commonly read for no other reaſon but becauſe they procure an agreeable ſurprize, and make amends for the inſipidity of converſations that have not this effect.

Surprize may be produced either by the object, or by the manner of producing it: for we ſee

an object greater or less than it is in fact, or different from what it is; or we see the same object, but with an additional idea which surprises us. Such, in any thing, is the accessory idea of the difficulty of making it, or the person who made it, or the time when it was made, or the manner how it was made, or some other circumstance connected with it.

Suetonius describes the crimes of Nero with a coolness of blood which surprises us, by making us almost believe that he does not feel sufficient horror for what he describes; but he suddenly changes his style, and says, "The universe having suffered such "a monster fourteen years, at last abandoned him:" *Tale monstrum per quatuordecim annus perpessus terrarum orbis tandem destituit.* This produces in the mind different kinds of surprize: we are surprised at the author's change of style; at the discovery of his different manner of thinking; at his method of relating in so few words one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened: thus the soul finds a vast number of different sensations that concur to move it, and to inspire it with Pleasure.

OF DIFFERENT CAUSES THAT PRODUCE SENSATION.

We ought carefully to observe, that one Sensation has commonly more than one cause in the mind. It is, if I dare venture to make use of the term, a certain dose produced by Force and Variety. Genius consists in knowing how to strike several organs at once; and if we examine different writers, we shall perhaps perceive, that the best of them, and those who have pleased most, are those who have excited in our Mind most Sensations at one time.

Pray

Pray obſerve the multiplicity of Cauſes. We like to view a garden finely laid out, better than a confuſion of trees. 1. Becauſe our proſpect, which would be confined, is not ſo. 2. Every walk is one, and forms one grand object; whereas, amidſt confuſion, every tree is one object, and a little one. 3. We ſee an arrangement which we were not accuſtomed to ſee. 4. We are pleaſed with the pains which have been taken. 5. We admire the care they take perpetually to reſiſt Nature, which by ſpontaneous productions would put every thing in confuſion. This is ſo true, that a garden quite neglected is intolerable. Sometimes the difficulty of a work, ſometimes the eaſineſs of it, pleaſes us; and, as in a magnificent garden we admire the grandeur and expence of its owner, we obſerve ſometimes with delight, that they have had the art to pleaſe us with ſmall expence and labour.

Gaming pleaſes us, becauſe it ſatisfies our avarice, that is, our hope of poſſeſſing more; it flatters our vanity by an idea of that preference which fortune gives us, and the notice which others take of our luck; it ſatisfies our curioſity by preſenting a ſort of ſhow to us. In a word, it gives us all the different pleaſures of ſurprize.

Dancing pleaſes us by its nimble activity; by a certain grace; by the beauty and variety of attitudes; by its harmony with the muſic; the perſon who dances being, as it were, an inſtrument which accompanies it: but, above all, it pleaſes us by a particular diſpoſition of our brain, by which it is ſo conſtituted that it refers and aſſociates the idea of all the motions to certain other motions, and the greateſt part of the attitudes, to other attitudes.

OF SENSIBILITY.

Things almoſt always pleaſe and diſpleaſe us in different reſpects. For example, Italian eunuchs ought to give us little pleaſure. 1. Becauſe it is not ſurpriſing that, * trimmed as they are, they ſhould ſing well; they are like an inſtrument from which the workman has cut off wood, to to make it produce ſounds. 2. Becauſe the paſſions which they act are too much ſuſpected of being falſe. 3. Becauſe they are neither of the ſex we love, nor of that which we eſteem. On the other hand, they may pleaſe us, becauſe they preſerve a long time the air of youth; and alſo becauſe they have a voice extremely flexible, and which is peculiar to themſelves. Thus every thing gives us a feeling which is compoſed of a great many others, which ſometimes weaken and counteract each other.

The ſoul often forms reaſons to itſelf of its pleaſure: and it ſucceeds in this principally by thoſe aſſociations of ideas which it connects with certain objects. Thus, any thing which has pleaſed us, pleaſes us ſtill for that very reaſon that it has pleaſed us, becauſe we join the new to the old idea: thus, an actreſs who has pleaſed us on the ſtage, pleaſes us too in a private room; her voice, her action, the remembrance of having ſeen her admired, what do I ſay?—the idea of the princeſs joined to that of herſelf; all this makes a ſort of compoſition, which forms and produces a pleaſure. We are all full of acceſſory ideas: a lady who ſhould happen to have a great character, and a trifling defect, might make this be regarded as a beauty, and bring it

* Accommodés.

into

into faſhion. The greateſt part of thoſe ladies whom we love, have nothing for them but the prepoſſeſſion of their birth or their fortune, the honours or eſteem of certain people.

OF DELICACY.

People of delicacy are thoſe who, to every idea or to every taſte, join a great many acceſſory Ideas and taſtes. Indelicate people have only one idea; their mind can neither compound nor diminiſh; they neither add nor take away from what Nature has given: while people of delicacy when in love form to themſelves the greateſt part of the pleaſures of love.

Polyxena and Apicius brought to table a great many ſenſations unknown to us vulgar eaters; and thoſe who judge with taſte of the works of wit have, and have formed to themſelves an infinite number of ſenſations which other men have not.

OF THE JE NE SÇAIS QUOI.

There is ſometimes in perſons and things a certain inviſible charm, a natural grace, which cannot be defined, and which we have been obliged to call the *I don't know what*. It appears to me, that it is an effect principally derived from ſurprize. We are ſtruck with this, that a perſon pleaſes us more, than it appeared to us at firſt that ſhe ought to have done, and we are agreeably ſurpriſed that ſhe has known how to overcome thoſe defects which our eyes pointed out to us, and which the heart no more believes ſhe had: you ſee the reaſon why ordinary women have very often graces, and the handſome ones ſeldom have them: for a beautiful perſon com-

monly produces the contrary effect from that which we expected of her; ſhe becomes leſs lovely in our eyes, after having ſurpriſed us with what is fine, ſhe ſurpriſes us with what is not ſo; but the impreſſion of what is good is old, that of what is bad is new; thus handſome people rarely produce ſtrong paſſions, which are almoſt conſtantly reſerved for thoſe who have graces, that is to ſay, charms which we did not expect, and which we had no reaſon to expect. Rich dreſſes are ſeldom graceful, thoſe of ſhepherdeſſes often are ſo. We admire the majeſty of the draperies of Paul Veroneſe; but we are touched with the ſimplicity of Raphael, and the purity of Corregio. Paul Veroneſe promiſes us a great deal, and pays what he promiſed: Raphael and Corregio promiſe little, and pay a great deal; and this pleaſes us more.

Graces are more commonly found in the mind, than the countenance: for a beautiful face appears immediately, and conceals nothing; but the mind does not ſhew itſelf but by little and little, when it chuſes it, and as much as it chuſes; it can conceal itſelf to appear again, and produce that ſort of ſurprize which conſtitutes grace.

Grace is ſeldomer found in the face than in the manner; for our manner is produced every moment, and can create ſurprize: in a word, a woman can be beautiful but one way, ſhe can be graceful a thouſand.

The law of the two ſexes has eſtabliſhed, among civilized and ſavage nations, that men ſhould aſk, and women only grant: hence it happens, that Grace is more peculiarly attached to the women. As they have all to defend, they have all to conceal; the leaſt word, the leaſt geſture, every thing which, without ſhocking the firſt of duties, ſhews itſelf in them, every thing which appears at liberty becomes a grace;

a grace; and ſuch is the Wiſdom of Nature, that that which would be nothing without the law of modeſty, becomes of infinite value after that happy law which conſtitutes the felicity of ſociety.

As conſtraint and affectation cannot ſurpriſe us, grace is neither found in conſtrained nor affected manners, but in a certain freedom or eaſe which is between the two extremes, and the mind is agreeably ſurpriſed to perceive, that they have kept clear of two rocks.

It would ſeem that our natural manners ought to be the moſt eaſy, they are the leaſt ſo of any: for education, which conſtrains us, makes us always loſe our natural manner; we are then charmed to ſee it return.

Nothing pleaſes us ſo much in dreſs, as when it appears in that negligence, or even in that diſorder, which conceals from us thoſe pains which neatneſs does not require, and which vanity alone could have made us take; and one's wit is never graceful, but when what is ſaid appears to be hit off, and not ſtudied.

When you ſay things which have coſt you pains, you may indeed ſhew that you have wit, but not a graceful wit. To make this appear, you muſt not ſeem to perceive it yourſelf; that others, who from ſomething naturally unaffected and ſimple in you, did not expect it of you, may be agreeably ſurpriſed by perceiving it.

Thus Graces are not acquired; to have them, one muſt be *ſimple and unaffected*; but how can one ſtudy to be ſo?

One of the moſt beautiful fictions of Homer is that of the girdle, which gave Venus the power of pleaſing. Nothing is more proper to make us conceive that magic and power of the Graces, which ſeem

ſeem to be given to a perſon by an inviſible power, and are diſtinguiſhed from beauty itſelf. Now this girdle could not be given but to Venus; it could not agree with the majeſtic beauty of Juno; for majeſty requires a certain gravity, that is, a conſtraint oppoſite to the ſimplicity of the Graces: it could not agree with the proud beauty of Pallas; for pride is contrary to the ſweetneſs of the Graces, and may often be ſuſpected of affectation.

THE PROGRESSION OF SURPRIZE.

That which conſtitutes great beauties, is, when a thing is ſuch, that the ſurprize at firſt is inconſiderable, that it ſupports itſelf, increaſes, and at laſt leads us to admiration. The works of Raphael ſtrike little at firſt ſight; he imitates Nature ſo well, that one is no more at firſt ſurpriſed than when one ſees the object itſelf, which would cauſe no ſurprize at all: but an uncommon expreſſion, the ſtrong colouring or odd attitudes of an inferior painter ſtrike us at firſt, becauſe we have not been accuſtomed to ſee them elſewhere. We may compare Raphael to Virgil; and the Venetian painters, with their conſtramed attitudes, to Lucan. Virgil, more natural, ſtrikes us at firſt leſs, to ſtrike us more afterwards: Lucan ſtrikes immediately, to ſtrike us afterwards leſs.

The exact proportion of the famous church of St. Peter makes it appear at firſt not ſo great as it is; for we do not know immediately where to begin to judge of its greatneſs. If it had been narrower, we would have been ſtruck with its length; if it had not been ſo long, we would have been ſtruck with its breadth. But, in proportion as we examine it, the eye perceives it grow larger,

our

our aſtoniſhment increaſes. We may compare it to the Pyrenees, where the eye, which at firſt thought it could meaſure them, diſcovers mountains beyond mountains, and always loſes itſelf more and more.

It often happens that our mind feels a pleaſure from a ſentiment which it cannot quite explain; and when a thing appears to it to be abſolutely different from what it knows it to be, this gives it a ſentiment of ſurprize out of which it cannot extricate itſelf. For example: the dome of St. Peter's is immenſe; 'tis known, that Michael Angelo, viewing the Pantheon, which was the largeſt temple of Rome, ſaid, that he would make one like it, but that he would ſituate it in the air. He made then after this model the dome of St. Peter's; but he made the pillars ſo ſtrong, that this dome, which is like a mountain over our heads, appears light to the eye which obſerves it. The mind remains uncertain between what it ſees, and what it knows to be the caſe, and is aſtoniſhed to ſee a maſs ſo enormous, and ſo light at the ſame time.

OF BEAUTIES WHICH RESULT FROM AN EMBARRASSMENT OF THE SOUL.

The mind is often ſurpriſed, becauſe it cannot reconcile what it ſees with what it has ſeen. There is in Italy a great lake which they call the Greater Lake; it is a little ſea, the banks of which ſhew nothing but what is wild. Fifteen miles in the lake there are two iſlands, a quarter of a mile in circumference, which they call the Borromees, which is, in my opinion, the moſt enchanting abode in the world. The mind is aſtoniſhed at the romantic contraſt, and recalls with pleaſure the wonders of romance,

romance, where, after having paſſed over rocks and barren countries, you find yourſelf in fairy land.

All contraſts ſtrike us, becauſe the oppoſite objects heighten each other. Thus, when a little man is near a tall one, the little one makes the other appear taller, and the great one makes the other ſeem leſs.

Theſe kinds of ſurprizes conſtitute the pleaſure which we find in all beauties of oppoſition, in antitheſes, and ſuch figures. When Florus ſays, "Sora "and Algidum, who would believe it! were for- "midable to us; Satricum and Corniculum were "provinces; we undervalue the Boritians, the Ve- "rulians, yet we gloried in triumphing over them; "Prænesſte, where our pleaſure-houſes now are, was "the ſubject of vows which we went to make at "the capitol;" this author, I ſay, points out to us, at the ſame time, the grandeur of the Romans and the ſmallneſs of their beginnings, and our aſtoniſhment is raiſed by both theſe.

We may remark here how great a difference there is between antitheſes of ideas and antitheſes of expreſſion. The antitheſes of expreſſion is not concealed; that of ideas is ſo: the one always aſſumes the ſame appearance; the other changes it as it pleaſes; the one is varied; the other not.

The ſame Florus, ſpeaking of the Samnites, ſays, "That their cities were deſtroyed in ſuch a way that "it was difficult to find out at preſent what could "have been the ſubject of ſo many triumphs;" *Ut non facile appareat materia quatour & viginti triumphorum:* and by the ſame words which point out to us the deſtruction of this people, he makes us perceive the greatneſs and obſtinacy of their courage.

When we want to hinder ourſelves from laughing, our laughter increaſes, on account of that Contraſt which

which is between the ſituation in which we find ourſelves, and that in which we ought to be: in the ſame way as when we perceive in a face a very great fault, as for example, a very large noſe, we laugh becauſe we ſee a contraſt with the other features of the face, which ought not to be. Thus contraſts are the cauſe of faults, as well as beauties. When we perceive that they are without any reaſon, that they heighten or diſcover another fault, they are the great cauſes of uglineſs, which when it ſtrikes us ſuddenly, can excite a certain joy in our ſoul, and make us laugh. If our mind views it as a misfortune in the perſon who poſſeſſes it, it can excite pity: if it views it with the idea of what may hurt us, and with an idea of compariſon with what uſed to move us and excite our deſires, it views it with a ſentiment of averſion.

In the ſame way, our thoughts, when they contain an oppoſition contrary to good ſenſe, when this oppoſition is common and eaſily found out, do not pleaſe us, and are faults, becauſe they occaſion no ſurpriſe; and if, on the contrary, they are too much ſtudied, they do not pleaſe us neither. In a work, we ought to be ſtruck with them becauſe they are there, and not becauſe the writer has laboured to ſhew them; for then we are only ſurpriſed at the folly of the author.

One of the things which pleaſes us moſt is the ſimple; but it is alſo the moſt difficult ſtyle to acquire; the reaſon of which is, becauſe it is preciſely betwixt the noble and the low, and it is very difficult to be always going by it without falling into it.

Muſicians

Muſicians have acknowledged, that the muſic, which is eaſieſt ſung, is moſt difficult to compoſe; a certain proof that our pleaſures and that art which ſupplies us with them, have certain limits.

To read the pompous verſes of Corneille, and the eaſy natural ones of Racine, who would imagine that Corneille compoſed with eaſe, and Racine with a great deal of trouble?

What is low, is the ſublime of the vulgar, who are pleaſed to ſee a thing made for them, and adapted to their capacity.

The ideas which occur to thoſe who are well educated, and have great minds, are either ſimple, or noble, or ſublime.

When a thing is pointed out to us with circumſtances which add to its grandeur, this appears noble to us; this is eſpecially perceived in compariſons, where the mind ought always to gain, and never to loſe: for they ought always to add ſomewhat to make the thing appear greater, or, if grandeur be not the object, finer and more delicate; but particular care muſt be taken not to point out any connection it may have with what is low; for the mind would have concealed this if it had diſcovered it.

As the aim is to repreſent things in a delicate way, the mind likes better to compare a manner to a manner, an action to an action, than a thing to a thing, as a hero to a lion, a woman to a ſtar, a ſwift man to a ſtag.

Michael Angelo is the greateſt maſter for giving a nobleneſs to all his ſubjects. In his famous Bacchus he does not do like the Flemiſh painters, who repreſent to us a figure almoſt falling, and, ſo to ſpeak, in the air. This would be unworthy of the majeſty of a God. He paints him firm upon his

his legs, but he ſo happily gives him the gay air of one who is drunk, and ſuch a pleaſure in viewing the liquor, which he pours into his cup that there is nothing ſo admirable.

In that picture of the Paſſion which is in the gallery of Florence, he has painted the Virgin ſtanding, who beholds her crucified ſon, without grief, without pity, without regret, without tears. He ſuppoſes her inſtructed in this great myſtery, and by that makes her bear with grandeur the view of his death.

There are none of Michael Angelo's works in which he has not put ſomething noble. We find even *the Great* in his ſketches, as in thoſe verſes which Virgil has not finiſhed.

Julio Romano, in the chamber of Giants at Mantua, where he has repreſented Jupiter thundering, makes all the Gods, appear terrified; but Juno is near Jupiter, ſhe points out to him, with an undaunted air, a giant at whom he ſhould dart his thunder: by this he gives her an air of grandeur which the other deities have not: the nearer they are to Jove, the bolder they are, and this is very natural; for in a battle, fear ceaſes near him who has the advantage * * * * * * * * *

THE

THE

TEMPLE

OF

GNIDUS.

——Non murmura veſtra, columbæ,
Brachia non hederæ, non vincant oſcula conchæ.

Fragment of an Epithalamium of the Emperor GALLIENUS.

THE TEMPLE OF GNIDUS.

THE PREFACE.

AN ambaſſador of France at the Ottoman Porte, known by his taſte for literature, having purchaſed many Greek manuſcripts, brought them to France; and, ſome of them falling into my hands, I found among them the work of which I here give a tranſlation.

Few of the Greek authors have been handed down to us: they have either periſhed in the ruin of libraries, or by the negligence of the families who have had them in their poſſeſſion.

We, however, receive from time to time ſome pieces of theſe treaſures. We have found works even in the tombs of their authors; and, what is much the ſame, this was diſcovered among the books of a Greek Biſhop.

We know neither the name of the author, nor the time in which he lived. All that we can ſay of him is, that he was not anterior to Sappho, ſince he quotes her in his work.

As to my tranſlation, it is a faithful one. The beauties that were not in my author, I ſuppoſed, did not deſerve the name of beauties; and I have often choſen a leſs lively manner of expreſſion, in order the better to expreſs his thought.

I have been encouraged to undertake this tranſlation by the ſucceſs which has attended that of Taſſo. He who performed it will not be offended at my having followed his example. He has there diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to be under no apprehenſions from thoſe whom he has inſpired with the warmeſt ſpirit of emulation.

This little romance is a kind of picture in which are ſelected the moſt agreeable objects. The public will here find ſmiling images, magnificent deſcriptions, and ingenuous ſentiments.

It has the marks of an original; which has made the critics demand, after what model it was formed. This muſt greatly inhance its merit, eſpecially as the work is, in other reſpects, far from being deſpicable.

Some of the learned have not diſcovered in it what they term art; and they allege, that it is not written according to the rules: but if the work has pleaſed, it is a proof that the heart has not communicated to them all its rules.

A man who attempts a tranſlation, cannot patiently bear that others ſhould not eſteem his author as much as he does himſelf; and I confeſs that theſe gentlemen have often filled me with a furious reſentment: but I deſire them to leave the young men to judge of a book, which, in whatſoever language it was written, was certainly wrote for their uſe. I intreat them, therefore, not to trouble themſelves with their deciſions; for none but the heads that are well curled and powdered, can know all the merit of the Temple of Gnidus.

With reſpect to the fair ſex, to whom I owe the few happy moments I can reckon in my life, I heartily wiſh that this work may pleaſe them. I admire them ſtill; and their not being more the ſubject of my aſſiduities is a ſource of regret.

If men of gravity ſhould deſire from me a leſs trifling work, I am able to ſatisfy them. Theſe thirty years have I laboured at a book of no more than twelve pages, which is to contain all we know of metaphyſics, politics, and morality, and all that very great authors have forgotten in the volumes they have publiſhed on thoſe ſciences.

THE

THE TEMPLE OF GNIDUS.

CANTO I.

VENUS chuſes to reſide at Gnidus, rather than at Paphos and Amathus, and never deſcends from Olympus without viſiting the Gnidians. So much has ſhe accuſtomed theſe happy people to her ſight, that they no longer feel that ſacred horror inſpired by the preſence of the Gods. Sometimes ſhe covers herſelf with a cloud, and is known by the divine odour that flows from her hair perfumed with ambroſia.

The city is in the midſt of a country on which the Gods have laviſhed their favours with a liberal hand. The inhabitants enjoy an eternal ſpring; the earth, happily fertile, prevents all their wiſhes; their flocks feed without number; the birds inceſſantly ſing, ſo that you would think the woods were vocal: rivulets murmur in the plains; a gentle heat renders every thing blooming; and the air the people breathe inſpires only pleaſure.

Near the city is the palace of Venus, the foundations of which were laid by Vulcan; who laboured for his faithleſs ſpouſe while he ſtrove to make her forget the cruel affront he had given her before the Gods.

It would be impoſſible for me to give an idea of the beauties of this palace; for none but the Graces can deſcribe what they have performed. Gold, azure, rubies, diamonds, ſhine on all ſides; but here I paint only riches, and not beauty.

The gardens are inchanting; they are under the care of Flora and Pomona, and are cultivated by the nymphs. Fruits ſpring up under the hand that plucks them; and bloſſoms ſucceed the fruit. When Venus walks in them ſurrounded by her Gnidians, you would think that in their wanton ſports they would deſtroy theſe delightful gardens; but by a ſecret virtue every thing is inſtantly repaired.

Venus loves to ſee the ſprightly dances of the girls of Gnidus. Her nymphs mingle with them; the Goddeſs herſelf bears a part in their ſports; ſhe ſtrips herſelf of her majeſty, ſits in the midſt of them, and ſees joy and innocence reign in their hearts.

At a diſtance is diſcovered a ſpacious meadow enamelled with flowers. The ſhepherd comes to gather them, with his ſhepherdeſs; but that which ſhe finds is always the moſt beautiful, and it is believed that this happens by the expreſs deſign of Flora.

The Cephiſus waters this meadow, and runs through it with a thouſand turnings. The River God ſtops the fugitive ſhepherdeſſes, and will oblige them to give him the tender kiſs they had promiſed him.

When the nymphs approach his banks, he ſtops, and the waves which fly find thoſe that are incapable of flying. But when one of them bathes, he is ſtill more amorous; his waters wind about her limbs; he ſometimes riſes, the better to give her his embraces; he lifts her up; he flies; he takes her with him. Her timid companions begin to weep: but he ſupports her upon his waves, and charmed with the

the precious burden, leads her over his liquid plain; at length, loth to part with her, he conducts her ſlowly to the bank, and reſtores comfort to her companions.

On the ſide of the meadow is a myrtle grove, where the paths make a variety of turnings. The lovers there come to recount their pains; and Love, who amuſes them, always conducts them through the moſt ſecret paths.

Not far from thence is an antient and ſacred wood, thro' which the light can with difficulty enter. Oaks, that ſeem immortal, bear up their heads to the heavens, which conceal them from our view. We there feel a religious fear; you would ſay that this was the abode of the Gods, ere man had ſprung from the earth.

On coming to an opening where the day breaks in, the people aſcend a little hill, on which is the temple of Venus, than which the univerſe has nothing more ſacred.

In this temple Venus firſt ſaw her Adonis, and the poiſon thrilled through the heart of the Goddeſs. What! ſaid ſhe, do I then love a mortal? Alas! I find I adore him. Let them no more addreſs their vows to me; Adonis is the only deity at Gnidus.

It was in this place that ſhe aſſembled the Loves, when piqued with a raſh diſtruſt, ſhe conſulted them. She was in doubt whether ſhe ſhould expoſe herſelf naked to the view of the Trojan ſhepherd. She concealed her girdle under her hair; her nymphs ſprinkled her with perfumes; ſhe mounted her chariot drawn by ſwans, and arrived in Phrygia. The ſhepherd heſitated between Juno and Pallas; he ſaw her, and his looks were fixed and dying: the golden apple fell at the feet of the Goddeſs; he attempted to ſpeak, and his diſorder decided the diſpute.

It was to this temple that the young Pſyche came with her mother, when Cupid, who flew about the golden ceiling, was himſelf ſurpriſed by one of her glances, and felt the pain he made others ſuffer. Thus do I wound, ſaid he; I can neither ſupport my bow nor my arrows. He then ſunk down on the breaſt of Pſyche, and cried, Oh! I now begin to feel that I am the God of pleaſure.

When the people enter this temple, they perceive their hearts poſſeſſed by a ſecret charm: the ſoul is filled with that raviſhing delight which the Gods themſelves never feel, but when they are in their celeſtial abodes.

Whatever is moſt ſmiling in nature, is joined to every thing that art can invent as moſt noble, and moſt worthy of the Gods.

A hand, which was doubtleſs immortal, has every where adorned the place with paintings that ſeem to breathe. We there ſee the birth of Venus; the rapture of the Gods who ſaw her; her embarraſſment at appearing naked, and that modeſty which is the firſt of the Graces.

We there ſee the amours of Mars and that Goddeſs. The painter has repreſented the God of War in his chariot, in which he appears fierce, and even terrible: Fame flies before him; Fear and Death march, followed by his horſes covered with foam; he enters the throng, and a thick duſt begins to hide him from our view. In another place we ſee him laid languiſhingly on a bed of roſes, ſmiling on Venus; and you would not know him, were it not for ſome traces of the divinity which ſtill remain. The Pleaſures are employed in making wreaths and garlands, with which they bind the two lovers; their eyes melt in ſoftneſs; they ſigh, and only attentive to each other, are regardleſs of the little Cupids that play about them.

There

There is a ſeparate apartment, where the painter has repreſented the marriage of Vulcan and Venus; all the celeſtial court are there aſſembled: the God appears leſs gloomy, but as penſive as uſual. The Goddeſs looks with an air of coldneſs on the common joy; ſhe negligently gives him a hand which ſhe ſeems unwilling to reſign: ſhe caſts another way looks expreſſive of pain, and turns towards the Graces.

In another picture we ſee Juno performing the marriage-ceremony. Venus takes the cup to ſwear an eternal fidelity to Vulcan; the Gods ſmile, and Vulcan hears her with pleaſure.

On the other ſide we ſee the impatient God drawing along his divine Spouſe, who makes ſuch reſiſtance, that one would imagine her to be the daughter of Ceres, whom Pluto is going to raviſh, if the eye that had ſeen Venus could ever be deceived.

At ſome diſtance, we ſee her carried away towards the nuptial bed. The Gods follow in crowds; the Goddeſs diſputes, and endeavours to eſcape from the arms of thoſe who hold her. Her robe flies from her knees; the linen flutters: but Vulcan repairs this beautiful diſorder, and is more attentive to conceal than ardent to ſeize.

In ſhort, we ſee her juſt laid on the bed prepared by Hymen; Vulcan draws the curtains, and thinks of keeping her there for ever. The importunate throng retire; and he rejoices at ſeeing them go. The Goddeſſes play together: but the Gods appear dejected; and Mars's melancholy has ſomething gloomy, like the pangs of jealouſy.

Charmed with the magnificence of her temple, the Goddeſs herſelf has eſtabliſhed the worſhip performed there: ſhe has regulated its ceremonies, inſti-

inſtituted feſtivals, and is at the ſame time the deity and the prieſteſs.

The worſhip paid her almoſt over the whole earth, is rather a profanation than a religion. She has temples, in which all the maids in other cities proſtitute themſelves to her honour, and acquire a portion from the profits of proſtitution. She has others where every married woman goes once in her life to give up herſelf to him who has ſingled her out, and where ſhe throws into the ſanctuary the money ſhe has received. There are others again, where the courtezans of all countries, more honoured than the matrons, go to make their offerings. There is, in ſhort, another, where the men render themſelves eunuchs, and dreſs themſelves like women, in order to ſerve in the ſanctuary, conſecrating themſelves to the Goddeſs, and thoſe of her ſex.

But ſhe reſolved, that the people of Gnidus ſhould have a purer worſhip, and render her honours more worthy her acceptance. Her ſacrifices there are ſighs, and her offerings a tender heart. Every lover addreſſes his vows to his miſtreſs, and Venus receives them for her.

Wherever beauty is found, they pay it the ſame adoration as to Venus; for beauty, like her, is divine.

With hearts inflamed with love, they enter the Temple, and embrace at the altars of Fidelity and Conſtancy.

Thoſe who are treated with cruelty come there to vent their ſighs; they feel their torments diminiſh, and find their hearts filled with flattering hope.

Jealouſy is a paſſion that may be felt, though it ought to be concealed. A man there adores in ſecret the caprices of his miſtreſs, as they adore the decrees of the Gods, which become more juſt when we preſume to utter our complaints.

Among

Among the divine favours are reckoned the fire, the tranſports of love, and even all its fury: for the leſs a perſon is maſter of his own heart, the more is he devoted to the Goddeſs.

Thoſe who have not loſt their hearts are the profane, who are not admitted into her Temple. They at a diſtance addreſs their vows to the Goddeſs, and beg to be delivered from that liberty which is nothing more than the incapacity of forming deſires.

The Goddeſs inſpires the girls with modeſty; and that virtue has ſuch charms as to ſet an additional value on all the treaſures they conceal.

But never in theſe fortunate places do they bluſh at a ſincere paſſion, an ingenuous ſentiment, a tender acknowledgment.

The heart becomes fixed from the moment it has ſurrendered: but it is a profanation to ſurrender without love.

Cupid is attentive to the felicity of the Gnidians; he chuſes the arrows with which he wounds them. When he ſees an afflicted lover, whoſe paſſion meets with an unkind return, he takes an arrow dipped in in the water of forgetfulneſs. When he ſees two lovers who begin to feel the tender paſſion, he inceſſantly lets fly againſt them freſh arrows; and on ſeeing one whoſe love has declined, he makes it ſuddenly revive or expire; for he ſhortens the duration of a languiſhing paſſion, and will not ſuffer them to feel diſguſt before they ceaſe to love. Thus enraptured by the ſweets of a greater felicity, they forget the leſs.

Cupid took from his quiver the cruel arrows with which he wounded Phedra and Ariadne; they were mixed with love and hatred, and ſerved to ſhew his power, as thunder makes known the empire of Jupiter.

In

In proportion as the God gives the pleaſure of loving, Venus adds the happineſs of pleaſing.

The girls every day enter the ſanctuary to offer their prayers to Venus. They there expreſs the genuine ſentiments of their hearts. Queen of Amathus, ſaid one of them, my flame for Thyrſis is extinguiſhed; I do not intreat to have my love revived, but only that Ixiphiles may love me.

Another ſoftly ſays, Powerful Goddeſs! give me the power to conceal for ſome time my love to my ſhepherd, in order to inhance the value of the confeſſion I intend to make to him.

Goddeſs of Cythera! ſays another, I ſeek ſolitude; the ſports of my companions no longer pleaſe me: perhaps I love. But if I am indeed in love, let it be with none but Daphnis.

At their feſtivals the young men and maids go to repeat hymns in honour of Venus: and often do they celebrate her praiſe in ſinging their own amours.

A young Gnidian taking his miſtreſs by the hand, ſung thus: Cupid, when firſt Pſyche appeared to thy view, thou doubtleſs woundedſt her with the ſame arrow as that with which thou haſt wounded my heart. Thy happineſs was not different from mine; for thou felteſt my flames and I feel thy pleaſures.

For my part, I have ſeen what I deſcribe. I have been at Gnidus: I have ſeen Themira, and I have loved: I ſaw her again, and I loved her ſtill more. With her I will ſpend my life at Gnidus, and I ſhall be the moſt happy of all mortals.

We will viſit the Temple; and never ſhall a more faithful lover enter its walls. We will go to the palace of Venus, and I will imagine it to be the palace of my Themira. I will walk to the meadow,

dow, and gather flowers, which I will place in her boſom. Perhaps I may conduct her to the grove where ſo many paths meet, and when ſhe ſhall have ſtrayed—But Cupid, by whom I am inſpired, forbids my revealing his myſteries.

CAN-

CANTO II.

THERE is at Gnidus another ſacred grove inhabited by the nymphs, where the Goddeſs delivers her oracles. The earth ſends forth no hollow ſound under your feet; the hair is not raiſed erect upon the head; and there is no prieſteſs as at Delphos, where Apollo fills with convulſive agitations the trembling Pythia: but Venus herſelf lends an ear to the requeſts of mortals, without ſporting with their hopes or fears.

A coquette of the iſle of Crete came to Gnidus; ſhe was ſurrounded by all the young Gnidians; ſhe ſmiled at one, whiſpered to another, threw her arm upon a third, and called to two others to follow her. She was beautiful, and adorned with art, and the ſound of her voice was as deceitful as her eyes. O heavens! how were the faithful, the tender lovers, among the fair, alarmed! She preſented herſelf before the Oracle with as much confidence as a Goddeſs: but ſuddenly we heard a voice proceed from the ſanctuary: Perfidious wretch! how dareſt thou carry thy artifices even into the places where I reign with candour and ſincerity? ſeverely ſhalt thou be puniſhed: I will take away thy charms; but leave thy heart as it is: thou ſhalt call about thee all the men thou ſeeſt; but they ſhall fly from thee as from a plaintive ghoſt, and thou ſhalt die rejected, and loaded with contempt.

At length came a courtezan of Nocretis, ſhining with the ſpoils of her lovers. Go, ſaid the Goddeſs,

deſs, thou deceiveſt thyſelf in believing that thou haſt added to the glory of my empire. Thy beauty proclaims that thou haſt pleaſure to beſtow; but none does it give: thy heart is like iron, and though thou ſhouldeſt ſee my ſon himſelf, thou couldeſt not love him. Go, beſtow thy favours on the baſe men who demand them, and whom they fill with diſguſt: go, ſhew them charms which ſhall ſuddenly vaniſh, and be loſt for ever. Thou art only fit to render my power deſpiſed.

Some time after came a rich man, who collected tribute for the king of Lydia. Thou aſkeſt, ſaid the Goddeſs, one thing which I cannot perform, though I am the Goddeſs of Love. Thou aſkeſt for beauties, that thou mayeſt taſte the raptures of love; but thou loveſt them not becauſe thou haſt bought them: thy treaſures are not uſeleſs; they ſerve to fill thee with diſguſt againſt every thing moſt charming in nature.

A young man of Doris, named Ariſteus, at length preſented himſelf. He had ſeen at Gnidus the charming Camilla, and was fallen deſperately in love with her. He perceived the exceſs of his paſſion, and came to aſk Venus that he might love her ſtill more.

I know thine heart, ſaid the Goddeſs; thou art ſenſible of the power of love. I have found Camilla worthy of thee. I could have given her to the greateſt king upon earth; but kings have leſs merit than ſhepherds.

I at laſt appeared with Themira; when the Goddeſs ſaid: There is not in all my empire a mortal who knows how to ſubmit himſelf to my power better than thee; but what wouldeſt thou have me do for thee? I cannot render thee more in love, nor Themira more charming. O great Goddeſs, ſaid I, I have a thouſand favours to aſk: May

Themira

Themira think only of me; may ſhe ſee none but me; may ſhe awake dreaming of me: may ſhe fear to loſe me when I am preſent; hope for me in my abſence; and always charmed with ſeeing me, ſtill regret every moment ſhe paſſes without me.

CANTO III.

AT Gnidus there are ſacred games which are renewed every year, and there women come from all parts to diſpute the prize of beauty; when ſhepherdeſſes are confounded with the daughters of kings, for there beauty alone is the mark of empire. Venus herſelf preſides over them; ſhe decides without heſitation, and knows well the happy mortal whom ſhe has moſt favoured.

Helen ſeveral times gained the prize: ſhe triumphed when ſhe was ſtolen by Theſeus; ſhe triumphed when ſhe was carried away by the ſon of Priam; in fine, ſhe triumphed when the Gods reſtored her to Menelaus, after his hopes had been kept alive for ten years: that prince therefore, in the opinion of Venus herſelf, found as much happineſs in being her huſband, as Theſeus and Paris in being her lovers.

There came thirty girls of Corinth, whoſe hair fell in large ringlets on their ſhoulders. There came ten from Salamis who had not yet ſeen thirteen times the annual courſe of the ſun. There came fifteen from the iſle of Leſbos, who ſaid to each other, I am quite charmed, I never ſaw any thing ſo beautiful as you; if Venus ſaw you with the ſame eyes as I do, ſhe would crown you amidſt all the beauties of the univerſe.

There

There came fifty women of Miletus, who excelled in the whiteneſs of their complexion, and the regularity of their features; every thing ſhewed, or gave room to imagine, that their perſons were lovely, and that the gods, who had formed them, would have made nothing ſo beautiful as they, had they ſought to obtain valuable perfections rather than external graces.

An hundred women came from the iſland of Cyprus. We have paſſed our youth, ſaid they, in the temple of Venus; to her we have conſecrated our virginity, and our modeſty itſelf. We do not bluſh at our charms; our manners, ſometimes bold, and always free, ought to give us the advantage over a modeſty that is continually creating freſh alarms.

I ſaw the daughters of proud Sparta: their robes were open at the ſides from the girdle, in the moſt indecent manner: and yet they behaved like prudes, and maintained, that they would never violate the laws of modeſty, except for the love of their country.

O ſea, famous for ſo many ſhipwrecks, thou preſerveſt the treaſures committed to thy care. Thou becameſt calm, when the ſhip Argo, laden with the golden fleece, ſailed on thy liquid plain; and when fifty beauties departed from Colchis, and truſted themſelves on thy waves, thy didſt bow under them.

I alſo ſaw Oriana, like a goddeſs: all the beauties of Lydia ſurrounded their queen. She had ſent before her an hundred girls, who had preſented to Venus an offering of two hundred talents. Candaules came himſelf and was more diſtinguiſhed by his love, than by the royal purple. He paſſed his days and nights in devouring with his looks the charms of Oriana; his eyes wandered over her beautiful form, and were never weary. I am hap-

py, ſaid he; but alas! this is known only to Venus and myſelf; my felicity would be much heightened, did it but inſpire envy! Lovely queen, quit theſe vain ornaments; drop that troubleſome vail, and ſhew thyſelf to the univerſe; leave the prize of beauty, and demand altars raiſed to thine honour.

Afterwards came twenty Babylonians, dreſſed in purple robes embroidered with gold: they imagined, that the richneſs of their apparel inhanced their value. Some carried, as a proof of their beauty, the riches it had enabled them to acquire.

Then came an hundred Egyptian women whoſe eyes and whoſe hair were black: their huſbands were with them, and ſaid, The laws render us ſubject to you in honour of Iſis; but your beauty has a more powerful empire over us, than that of the laws: we obey you with the ſame pleaſure as we obey the gods, and are the moſt happy ſlaves in the univerſe. Duty ſecures our fidelity to you; but only love can render you faithful to us. Be leſs ſenſible of the glory you acquire at Gnidus, than of the homage you may find in your own houſe from a tranquil huſband; who, while you are employed in affairs abroad, ought to wait in the family for the heart you bring him.

There came women from that powerful city which ſends veſſels to the ends of the univerſe: their heads were loaden with ſuperfluous ornaments, and all the parts of the earth ſeemed to have contributed to form their dreſs.

Ten beauties came from the place where the day begins to dawn; they were the daughters of Aurora, and in order to ſee her, roſe daily before that goddeſs. They complained of the ſun, that he made their mother diſappear; and they complained of their mother, that ſhe did not ſhew herſelf to them, as ſhe did to other mortals.

I ſaw

I ſaw under a tent a queen of India ſurrounded by her virgins, who already gave hopes of their having the charms of their mothers: ſhe was ſerved by eunuchs, whoſe eyes were fixed on the earth; for ſince their breathing the air of Gnidus, they had felt the gloom of melancholy redoubled.

The women of Cadiz, which is at the extremity of the earth, likewiſe diſputed for the prize. There is no country upon earth where beauty does not receive homage; but nothing leſs than the higheſt homage can ſatisfy the ambition of the fair.

The girls of Gnidus at length appeared: beautiful without ornament, they had graces inſtead of pearls and rubies. Nothing was ſeen on their heads but the preſents of Flora; which were there more worthy of the embraces of Zephyrus. Their robes had no other merit beſides that of exhibiting the fineneſs of their ſhape, and of being ſpun with their own fingers.

Among all theſe beauties one could not ſee the young Camilla; who had ſaid, I will not diſpute the prize of beauty, it is ſufficient that my dear Ariſteus thinks me fair.

Diana rendered theſe games celebrated by her preſence. She did not come to diſpute the prize; for the Goddeſſes do not compare themſelves to mortals. I ſaw her alone, and ſhe ſeemed as beautiful as Venus: I ſaw her with Venus, and ſhe was only Diana.

There never was ſo great a concourſe: nations were ſeparated from nations; the eye wandered from country to country, from the ſetting of the ſun to the riſing of Aurora. It ſeemed as if Gnidus comprehended the whole univerſe.

The Gods have divided beauty among the nations, as nature has divided it among the goddeſſes. There we ſee the proud beauty of Pallas; here the grandeur

and majeſty of Juno; farther ſtill, the ſimplicity of Diana, the delicacy of Thetis, the charms of the Graces, and ſometimes the ſmile of Venus.

It ſeemed as if each nation had a particular manner of expreſſing modeſty, and yet that every woman was reſolved to attract every eye. Some diſcovered the neck, and concealed the ſhoulders; others ſhewed their ſhoulders, and concealed their necks: thoſe who concealed the foot paid you with other charms; and here they bluſhed at what was there called decency.

The Gods are ſo charmed with Themira, that they never look at her without ſmiling at their work. Of all the Goddeſſes, there is none but Venus who ſees her with pleaſure, and whom the Gods do not rally with having a little jealouſy.

As we obſerve a roſe in the midſt of the flowers that ſpring in the graſs, Themira was diſtinguiſhed among ſo many beauties. They had not time to become her rivals; they were vanquiſhed before they feared her. She no ſooner appeared, than the eyes of Venus were fixed on her; and calling the Graces, Go, ſaid ſhe, and crown her, for of all the beauties I ſee, ſhe alone reſembles you.

CAN-

CANTO IV.

WHILE Themira was employed with her companions in the worſhip of the goddeſs, I entered a ſolitary wood, and there I found the tender Ariſteus. We had ſeen each other on the day when we went to conſult the oracle; and our meeting was ſufficient to engage us to enter into converſation: for Venus places in the heart, on our ſeeing an inhabitant of Gnidus, the ſecret charm felt by two friends, when, after a long abſence, they preſs in their arms the dear object of their inquietudes.

Tranſported with each other, we found that we had reſigned our hearts; it appeared as if a tender friendſhip had deſcended from heaven in order to unite us. We related a thouſand paſſages of our lives, and this is, nearly what I ſaid to him.

I was born at Sybaris, where Antilochus, my father, was the prieſt of Venus. In that city they make no difference between luxuries and neceſſities; all the arts are baniſhed that are capable of diſturbing a tranquil ſleep: prizes are given at the public expence to thoſe who diſcover new ſources of voluptuouſneſs; and the citizens remember only the buffoons that have afforded them diverſion, while they loſe all remembrance of the magiſtrates who have governed them with wiſdom.

The people there take advantage of the fertility of the ſoil, which produces an eternal plenty; and the favours beſtowed by the Gods on Sybaris ſerve only to encourage ſoftneſs and luxury.

To ſuch a degree are the men ſunk in effeminacy, that their dreſs is ſo like that of the women, they

take ſuch care of their complexions, they curl their hair with ſuch art, and employ ſo much time in adorning themſelves at the glaſs, that there ſeems to be only one ſex in all the city.

The women abandon themſelves, inſtead of ſurrendering, and the deſires and hopes of the day are finiſhed at its concluſion. They know not what it is to love, and to taſte the pleaſure of being beloved, and are ſolely employed about what is falſely called enjoyment.

What with us are termed favours are there nothing leſs than their proper realities; and all thoſe circumſtances which ſo happily accompany them; all thoſe nothings that are of ſuch great value; all thoſe trifles that are of ſuch worth; every thing that prepares the way for the happy moment; ſo many conqueſts inſtead of one; ſo many enjoyments before the laſt; are all unknown at Sybaris.

Yet, had they the leaſt modeſty, a ſmall appearance of that virtue would pleaſe: but they have it not; their eyes are accuſtomed to ſee, and their ears to hear every thing.

So far is the multiplicity of pleaſures from giving the Sybarites more delicacy, that they cannot diſtinguiſh one ſentiment from another.

They paſs life in a joy merely exterior; quitting one pleaſure that diſpleaſes them, for another that is ſtill more diſpleaſing; while every change affords a new ſubject of diſguſt.

Their ſouls, incapable of reliſhing pleaſure, ſeem to have no delicacy but for pain. Thus, a citizen was fatigued a whole night by the leaf of a roſe folded in his bed.

Eaſe and ſoftneſs have ſo weakened their bodies, that they cannot remove the leaſt burden, and can ſcarce ſupport themſelves on their feet. They faint away

away in the moſt eaſy carriages; and when at a feaſt their ſtomachs continually fail them.

They paſs their lives reclined on ſophas, on which they are obliged to repoſe the whole day, without any relief from their fatigue; they are bruiſed if they attempt to languiſh out life in any other manner.

Incapable of bearing the weight of arms; timorous before their fellow citizens, and daſtardly in the preſence of ſtrangers, they are ſlaves ready to ſubmit to the firſt maſter.

I was no ſooner capable of thinking, than I was filled with contempt for the unhappy Sybarites. I love virtue, and have always feared the immortal Gods. I will no longer, ſaid I, breathe this infectious air; all theſe ſlaves of ſoftneſs and indolence are made to live in their native country, and I to leave it.

I then went for the laſt time to the temple; and approaching the altars, where my father had ſo often ſacrificed; Great Goddeſs! ſaid I with a loud voice, I abandon thy temple, but not thy worſhip; in what part of the earth ſoever I am, I will offer incenſe to thee; but it ſhall be purer than that offered at Sybaris.

I departed, and arrived in Crete, an iſland filled with monuments of the extravagance of love. There were ſeen the brazen cow, the work of Dædalus, to deceive, or to gratify the luſt of Paſiphæ: the labyrinths, whoſe intricacies love only could elude; the tomb of Phædra, which aſtoniſhed the Sun, as it had done his mother; and the temple of Ariadne; who, deſerted in the deſarts, and abandoned by an ungrateful wretch, did not repent of her having followed him.

I there ſaw the palace of Idomeneus, whoſe return from the ſiege of Troy was not more happy than

that of the other Greek captains: for thoſe who eſcaped the dangers of a reſentful element, found in their own houſes thoſe that were ſtill more fatal. Venus, exaſperated againſt them, gave them to the embraces of their perfidious wives, and they died by the hand they held moſt dear.

I quitted that iſle, ſo odious to a goddeſs who was one day to give felicity to my life.

I re-embarked; and a tempeſt caſt me on ſhore at Leſbos, an iſland but little beloved by Venus, who has taken modeſty from the countenances of the women, weakneſs from their bodies, and timidity from their ſouls. Great Venus! ſuffer the women of Leſbos to burn with a lawful flame; and may human nature no longer ſuffer ſuch diſgrace.

At Mytelene, the capital of Leſbos, reſided the tender Sappho, who, immortal as the Muſes, burnt with a fire which ſhe could not extinguiſh. Odious to herſelf, and diſguſted with her charms, ſhe hated, and yet courted her own ſex. How, ſaid ſhe, can a flame ſo vain become ſo cruel! Cupid, how much more formidable art thou when in ſport, than when enraged!

At length I quitted Leſbos, and my fate led me to an iſland ſtill more profane; and that was Lemnos. Venus has there no temple: never do the Lemnians addreſs their vows to her. We reject, ſay they, a worſhip that ſoftens the heart. The goddeſs has often puniſhed them; but they bear the puniſhment, without making an expiation for their crime, and are always more impious in proportion as they are afflicted.

I again put to ſea in ſearch of a country beloved by the gods; and the winds conducted me to Delos. I ſtaid ſome time in that ſacred iſle. But, whether the gods ſometimes previouſly inform us of what is to happen; or whether the ſoul retains from the emanations

emanations of the divinity, with which it is enlightened, ſome knowledge of futurity; I perceived that my deſtiny, and that my happineſs itſelf, called me to another country.

One night when I was in that ſtate of tranquillity, in which the ſoul, being more itſelf, ſeems delivered from that chain wherewith it is bound; there appeared before me a female form, and I was at firſt at a loſs to know whether ſhe was a mortal or a goddeſs. A ſecret charm was ſpread over her whole perſon: ſhe was not ſo beautiful as Venus, but was as raviſhing as that Goddeſs: all her features were not regular; but, together, they were full of charms; her hair fell negligently on her ſhoulders; but that negligence had a happy effect: her ſhape and ſtature were charming; ſhe had that air which nature alone beſtows, and which ſhe hides from the painters. She ſaw my aſtoniſhment: ſhe ſmiled. Ye gods! what a ſmile! I am, ſaid ſhe, one of the Graces: Venus, who ſent me, would render thee happy; but thou muſt go, and adore her in the Temple of Gnidus. She vaniſhed: I ſtretched out my arms to hold her; my ſleep fled with her: and there only remained a ſweet regret at my no longer ſeeing her, mixed with the pleaſure of having beheld her.

I then quitted the iſle of Delos, and arrived at Gnidus. I may ſay, that I inſtantly breathed love. I felt—I cannot expreſs what I felt. I was not yet in love, but ſought to love. My heart was inflamed, as if I had been in the preſence of ſome celeſtial beauty. I advanced, and ſaw at a diſtance ſeveral young girls playing in a meadow. I was immediately drawn towards them. Senſeleſs as I am, ſaid I, I feel without love, all the diſturbances of the lover: my heart flies already towards objects unknown, and thoſe objects fill it with inquietude. I approached; I ſaw the charming Themira. We were doubtleſs made

made for each other. I looked at none but her, and believe that I ſhould have died with grief, had ſhe not turned her eyes, and caſt ſome looks at me. Great Venus, cried I, ſince thou art to render me happy, may it be with this ſhepherdeſs: I renounce all other beauties; ſhe alone can fulfil thy promiſes, and all the vows I ſhall for ever make.

CAN-

CANTO V.

I CONTINUED talking to the young Ariſteus of my tender paſſion, which made him ſigh for his own, when I endeavoured to eaſe his heart, by intreating him to diſburden it to me: and this is what he ſaid. I ſhall forget nothing; for I am inſpired by the ſame God that made him ſpeak.

In all my ſtory you will find nothing but what is extremely ſimple: my adventures are only the ſentiments of a tender heart: theſe are my pleaſures, and theſe my pains; for as my love for Camilla forms the happineſs, it alſo forms the hiſtory, of my life.

Camilla is the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Gnidus; ſhe is beautiful, and has a countenance that makes an impreſſion on all hearts. The women who form deſires demand of the Gods the graces of Camilla; the men who ſee her would ſee her always, or fear longer to ſee her.

She is of a graceful ſtature; and has a noble but modeſt air; her eyes are lively, and ſuſceptible of tenderneſs; her features are expreſsly made for each other, and have charms adapted to give her a conqueſt over the heart.

Camilla does not ſeek to adorn herſelf; but ſhe is better adorned than other women.

She has that wit which nature almoſt conſtantly refuſes to the fair, and is equally capable of ſerioufneſs and gaiety. If you chuſe it, ſhe will join in a ſenſible converſation; or ſhe will jeſt like the Graces.

The

The more wit a perſon has, the more will he find in Camilla. Her thoughts are ſo natural, that ſhe ſeems to ſpeak the language of the heart. Every thing ſhe ſays, every thing ſhe does, has the charm of ſimplicity; and you always find her a native ſhepherdeſs. Graces ſo eaſy, ſo refined, ſo delicate, are always obſerved; but are better felt than deſcribed.

With all theſe advantages, Camilla loves me; ſhe is tranſported at ſeeing me; ſhe is ſorry when I leave her; and, as if I could live without her, makes me promiſe to return. I continually tell her that I love her, ſhe believes me; I tell her that I adore her, ſhe knows it; but is as delighted as if ſhe knew it not. When I tell her that ſhe conſtitutes the felicity of my life, ſhe tells me that I am the happineſs of hers. In ſhort, ſhe loves me ſo much, that ſhe almoſt makes me believe that I am worthy of her love.

For a month did I ſee Camilla, without daring to tell her that I loved, and almoſt without daring to tell it myſelf. The more amiable I found her, the leſs were my hopes of meeting with a return. O Camilla! thought I, thy charms captivate my ſoul; but they let me know, that I am unworthy of thee. I ſought to forget her; I would have effaced her image from my heart. How happy was I that I could not ſucceed! That image has remained there, and will never be obliterated.

I ſaid to Camilla: I once loved the buſtle and noiſe of life: but now I ſeek ſolitude; I had views of ambition; but I deſire nothing but thy preſence: I was deſirous of viſiting diſtant climates; but my heart is now only a citizen of the places where thou breatheſt. Every thing but thee has vaniſhed from before my eyes.

When

When Camilla ſpeaks of her tenderneſs, ſhe has always ſomething to ſay to me, and ſhe fancies ſhe has forgot what ſhe has proteſted a thouſand times. I am ſo charmed at hearing her, that I ſometimes pretend not to believe her, in order to hear her ſtill flatter my heart. Sometimes we both preſerve that ſweet ſilence, which is the moſt tender language of lovers.

When I have been abſent from Camilla, I have endeavoured to give her an account of what I have heard or ſeen. With what doſt thou entertain me, ſays ſhe? talk to me of our love; or if thou haſt not thought of it, if thou haſt nothing to ſay to me, O cruel Ariſteus, ſuffer me to ſpeak.

Sometimes, embracing me, ſhe ſays, Thou art melancholy. 'Tis true, I reply; but the melancholy of lovers is delightful; I feel my tears flow, and know not for why; for thou loveſt me: I have no cauſe of complaint; and yet I complain. Deliver me not from the languor of my mind; ſuffer me to ſigh out at the ſame time my pains and my pleaſures.

In the tranſports of love my ſoul is too ſtrongly agitated; it is drawn towards its happineſs without enjoying it: but now I reliſh even melancholy itſelf. Dry not up my tears: what ſignifies my ſhedding them, while I am happy.

Sometimes Camilla ſays: Doſt thou love me? Yes, I love thee. But how doſt thou love me? I love, I reply, as I have loved: for I can only compare the affection, I have for thee, by that which I have felt for the ſame tranſporting object.

I hear Camilla praiſed by all who know her: theſe praiſes affect me as if they were made to myſelf, and I am more delighted with them, than ſhe.

When we have company, ſhe talks with ſuch wit, that

that I am charmed with her leaſt words: but I am ſtill better pleaſed, when ſhe is ſilent.

When ſhe contracts a friendſhip, I would be that friend; and ſuddenly I reflect that I ſhall not be beloved.

O Camilla, take care of the deceits of lovers. They tell thee, that they love; and they ſpeak truth: they tell thee, that they love thee more than I; but I ſwear by the Gods, that I love thee ſtill more.

When I perceive her at a diſtance, my ſoul flies to her; ſhe approaches, and my heart is agitated; I come up to her, and my ſoul ſeems as if it would leave me to enter Camilla's breaſt, and that hers is going to animate mine.

Sometimes, when I would ſteal from her one favour, ſhe refuſes me, and inſtantly grants me another. This is not artifice. Divided between modeſty and love, ſhe would refuſe me every thing; and yet ſhe wiſhes that ſhe might deny me nothing.

She ſays, is it not ſufficient that I love you? What can you deſire more, after having had my heart? I deſire, ſay I, that thou wouldſt for me commit a fault that is in the power of love, and which the greatneſs of love can juſtify.

If I ever ceaſe to love thee, my Camilla, may the deſtinies be miſtaken, and take that for the laſt of my days! May they cut off the remainder of a life, which I ſhould find deplorable when I recollected the pleaſure I had found in loving.

Ariſteus ſighed, and was ſilent; and I plainly ſaw, that he only ceaſed to talk of Camilla, in order to enjoy the pleaſure of thinking of her charms.

CAN-

CANTO VI.

WHILE we were talking of our amours, we rambled out of our way; and having ſtrayed for a long time, entered a large meadow, where we were conducted by a flowery path to the foot of a frightful rock. We there ſaw an obſcure den, which we entered, thinking it the abode of ſome mortal. Ye Gods! who could have imagined that this place was ſo fatal! Scarce had I ſet my foot in it, when my whole body trembled, and my hair ſtood erect on my head! An inviſible hand drew me into this fatal abode, and in proportion as my heart was agitated, its agitations increaſed. Friend, cried I, let us enter farther ſtill, let us ſee if we ſhall increaſe our pain. I advanced to the place where the ſun had never entered, and where the winds had never breathed. There I ſaw Jealouſy, whoſe aſpect appeared more gloomy then terrible: Paleneſs, Melancholy, and Silence ſurrounded her; and about her flew Sorrow and Diſquietude. She breathed upon us; ſhe placed her hand upon our hearts; ſhe ſtruck us upon the head; and our ſight and imagination could perceive nothing but monſters.

Enter ſtill further, unhappy mortals, ſaid ſhe; go, find a Goddeſs more powerful than I. We obeyed; and ſoon ſaw a frightful Deity, by the light of the inflamed tongues of the ſerpents that hiſſed about her head. This was Rage. She looſened one of her ſerpents, and threw it at me. I ſtrove to catch it, and in an inſtant it imperceptibly ſlid into my heart. I ſtood for a moment ſtupid; but the

the poiſon had no ſooner diffuſed itſelf into my veins, than I imagined myſelf in the midſt of hell. My ſoul was ſet on fire. I could ſcarce contain myſelf; and was in ſuch agitations, that I ſeemed tormented by the whips of the Furies. We abandoned ourſelves to our tranſports, and an hundred times encompaſſed this dreadful cavern: we went from Jealouſy to Rage, and from Rage to Jealouſy. We called upon Themira; we called upon Camilla: but if Themira and Camilla had been there, we ſhould have torn them in pieces with our own hands.

At length we returned to the light of day, which then appeared troubleſome, and we almoſt regretted our having quitted the frightful cavern: we ſunk down with laſſitude, and even this repoſe appeared inſupportable. Our eyes refuſed to ſhed tears, and our hearts could no longer form a ſigh.

I however enjoyed a moment's tranquillity: Sleep began to ſhed on me her ſweet poppies. But, ye Gods! this ſleep itſelf became cruel. I ſaw images that appeared more terrible to me, than the pale ſhades I had ſeen when awake. I every inſtant awoke at the infidelity of Themira. I ſaw her—I dare not yet expreſs what I ſaw. What I before beheld only in imagination, I found realized in the horrors of this frightful ſleep.

I muſt then, ſaid I riſing, fly equally darkneſs and light. Themira, the cruel Themira, torments me like the Furies! Who could have imagined, that in order to be hapy I muſt forgt her for ever?

Seized by a fit of madneſs, I cried, Friend, ariſe, let us deſtroy the flocks that feed in this meadow; let us purſue the ſhepherds who enjoy their loves in peace. No, I ſee at a diſtance a temple; it is, perhaps, that of Cupid: let us go and deſtroy it; let

let us break his ſtatue, and render our rage formidable. We ran, and it ſeemed as if our ardour for committing a crime gave us new ſtrength. We croſſed the woods, the meadows, and the fields, and did not ſtop for a moment: a hill aroſe in vain; we aſcended it, and entered the temple, which was conſecrated to Bacchus.—How great is the power of the Gods! Our rage was immediately calmed. We looked at each other, and ſaw with ſurprize the extravagance of our conduct.

Great God! I cried, I return thee my thanks, not ſo much for having appeaſed my fury, as for having ſaved me from guilt. Then approaching the prieſteſs; We are beloved by the God whom you ſerve, ſaid I; he has juſt calmed the agitations of our minds; ſcarce did we enter this ſacred place, than we were ſenſible of his favourable preſence; we would therefore offer a ſacrifice to him. Condeſcend, divine prieſteſs, to offer it for us. I will go and ſeek a victim, and bring it to your feet.

While the prieſteſs was preparing to give the mortal blow, Ariſteus pronounced theſe words: Divine Bacchus, thou loveſt to ſee joy diffuſed over the countenance of man; our pleaſure is a worſhip paid to thee; and thou wilt be adorned by none but the moſt happy of mortals.

Sometimes thou giveſt a ſweet diſorder to our reaſon: but when ſome cruel Deity has taken it from us, thou alone canſt reſtore it.

Black Jealouſy holds Love in bondage: but thou takeſt away the empire ſhe aſſumes over our hearts, and ſendeſt her back to her diſmal abode.

After the ſacrifice was ended, all the people aſſembled about us: and I related to the prieſteſs, how we had been tormented in the habitation of Jealouſy. Suddenly we heard a great noiſe, and a

 conſuſed

confuſed mixture of voices and muſical inſtruments: upon which, leaving the temple, we ſaw a troop of Bacchanals, who ſtriking the earth with their thyrſes, cried with a loud voice, *Evohoe*. Old Silenus followed, mounted on an aſs: his head ſeemed to ſeek the ground, and whenever it ſeemed ready to fall from his ſhoulders, he balanced himſelf up with his body. The troop had their faces ſmeared with the lees of wine. Pan at length appeared with his pipe; and the Satyrs ſurrounded their King. Joy reigned in the midſt of diſorder; an amiable folly was mixed with their ſports, their raillery, their dances, and their ſongs. At length came Bacchus in a chariot drawn by tygers; ſuch as was ſeen at the river Ganges, at the end of the univerſe, bearing joy and victory.

By his ſide was the beautiful Ariadne. Lovely Princeſs, you ſtill wept for the infidelity of Theſeus, when the God took your crown and placed it in the heavens. Had you not dried up your tears, you would have rendered a God more unhappy than yourſelf, who are a mortal. Love me, ſaid he, Theſeus is fled; bear no remembrance of his love; and even forget his perfidy: I will render you immortal, that I may love you for ever.

I ſaw Bacchus deſcend from his chariot; and I ſaw Ariadne alſo deſcend: when entering the temple, Amiable God, cried ſhe, let us ſtay in this place, and here ſigh our loves. Let eternal joy dwell in this delightful climate. Near this place the queen of hearts has fixed her empire: may the God of Joy reign near her, and increaſe the happineſs of theſe people already ſo fortunate.

As for me, great God, I already perceive that my love is increaſed; and it is poſſible that thou mayſt one day appear even more amiable! None but

but the immortals can love to exceſs, and with a conſtant growing affection; none but they can obtain more than they hope for; they alone are more limited when they deſire, than when they enjoy. Here we will perform our eternal loves: for in the heavens the Gods are filled with their glory; and it is only on the earth, and in rural retreats, that they give way to love. While this troop therefore abandon themſelves to extravagant tranſports, my joy, and my ſighs ſhall inceſſantly proclaim my affection.

Bacchus ſmiled at Ariadne, and inſtantly led her into the ſanctuary. Mean while joy took poſſeſſion of our hearts; we felt a divine emotion: when being ſeized with the extravagance of old Silenus, and by the tranſports of the Bacchanals, we each took a thyrſes, and mingled in the dances and concerts.

CANTO VII.

ON our quitting the places conſecrated to Bacchus, we ſoon felt that our evils had been only ſuſpended. 'Tis true, we had not the madneſs with which we had before been agitated; but a gloomy melancholy had ſeized our ſouls, and we were racked by ſuſpicions and inquietudes.

It ſeemed to us, that the cruel Goddeſſes had tormented us, in order to give us a foreſight of the misfortunes to which we were deſtined.

Sometimes we regretted our having left the temple of Bacchus; and ſoon after we were induced to approach that of Gnidus: we were deſirous of ſeeing Themira and Camilla, the powerful objects of our love and jealouſy.

But we had none of that ſweetneſs people are accuſtomed to feel, when on the point of ſeeing thoſe they love, when the ſoul is already raviſhed, and taſtes beforehand the promiſed happineſs.

Perhaps, ſaid Ariſteus, I ſhall find Lycas the ſhepherd with Camilla. How do I know that he is not talking to her this very moment? Ye Gods! the traitreſs takes pleaſure in hearing him.

It was ſaid the other day, cried I, that Thyrſis, who has been ſo in love with Themira, was to arrive at Gnidus. He has loved her, and doubtleſs loves her ſtill; I muſt diſpute with him a heart I believed intirely my own.

I remember that one day Lycas ſung to my Camilla. Inſenſible wretch that I was, I was delighted at hearing him praiſe her.

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I remember that Thyrſis brought my Themira ſome freſh-blown flowers. Unhappy that I am, ſhe placed them in her boſom, ſaying, It is a preſent from Thyrſis. Oh! I ſhould have ſnatched them, and have trampled them under my feet.

Not long ſince I went with Camilla to make an offering to Venus of two young turtles; but they eſcaped from me, and flew away.

I had inſcribed my name with that of Themira on the trees; I had written alſo the ſtory of our love: I read them, and read them again without ceaſing; but one morning I found them effaced.

Camilla, drive not to deſpair an unhappy wretch who loves thee; for love, when provoked, has all the effects of hatred.

The firſt Gnidian that ſhall look at my Themira, I will purſue even into the Temple, and puniſh him, though at the feet of Venus.

While we were holding theſe diſcourſes, we arrived within ſight of the ſacred grove where the Goddeſs delivers her oracles. The people were in crowds that moved like the waves of the ſea agitated by the wind. Some came to hear, and others to receive an anſwer.

We entered the crowd, and I loſt the happy Ariſteus. Already had he embraced his Camilla; and I was ſtill in ſearch of my Themira.

I at length found her. I felt my jealouſy redoubled at her ſight, and began to reſume my former madneſs. But ſhe looked at me, and I was filled with tranquillity. Thus do the Gods ſend back the Furies, when they eſcape out of hell.

Oh! what tears, cried ſhe, haſt thou coſt me! Three times has the ſun run his courſe, and I feared that I had loſt thee for ever. I have been to conſult the Oracle. I did not aſk whether thou lovedſt

me. I only desired to know if thou wast still alive. But Venus has just answered, that thou wilt love me for ever.

Excuse, said I, an unfortunate wretch, who would have hated thee had he been capable of it. The Gods in whose hands I am, may take away my reason; but they cannot, Themira, deprive me of my love.

I have been agitated by the most dreadful jealousy, and have endured the tortures inflicted in Tartarus on the ghosts of criminals. But this advantage have I drawn from it, I am more sensible of the happiness of being beloved by thee, after the dreadful situation of fearing to lose thee.

Come then with me; retire into this solitary grove. We ought by love to expiate the crimes I have committed. It is a great crime, Themira, to believe thee unfaithful.

Never were the Elysian bowers, made by the Gods for the tranquillity of the souls they love; never were the forests of Dodona, where the trees spoke, and revealed to man his future felicity; never were the gardens of the Hesperides, whose boughs bent under the weight of their golden fruit, more charming than this grove adorned with the inchanting presence of Themira.

I remember, a Satyr who pursued a nymph, that fled from him all in tears, saw us; and stopping, cried, Happy lovers! your eyes know how to answer and reply to your passion; and your sighs are repaid by sighs! But I spend my life in following a cruel shepherdess; unhappy while I pursue; but more unhappy still when I have caught her.

A young nymph, who was wandering alone thro' the grove, perceived us; and sighing cried, It is only to augment my torments, that cruel Cupid brings before me so tender a lover.

We

We found Apollo ſeated near a fountain. That God had followed Diana, whom a timorous deer had led into theſe woods. I knew him again by his fair hair, and the immortal troop that ſurrounded him. He ſtruck his lyre; it drew the woods, the trees moved, and the lions remained immoveable. But we entered farther into the foreſt, and were in vain invited by that divine harmony.

Where do you imagine that I found the God of Love. I found him on the lips of Themira! I afterwards diſcovered him on her boſom: he ſaved himſelf at her feet; I found him ſtill: he then hid himſelf under her knees; I followed him, and ſhould have continued to follow him, if the weeping, the angry Themira had not ſtopped me. He was at his laſt retreat, and ſhe was ſo charming, that he could not leave her. Thus, a tender linnet, detained by fear and love, covers her little ones with her wings, and remains immovable under the hand that approaches her, and cannot conſent to abandon them.

Unhappy as I am, Themira heard my complaints, and was not ſoftened: ſhe liſtened to my intreaties, and became more ſevere. In ſhort I grew raſh: ſhe was enraged, and I trembled: ſhe appeared ſorry; and I ſhed tears; ſhe repulſed me; and I fell at her feet. I then perceived, that the ſighs I uttered would have been my laſt, had not Themira laid her hand on my heart, and recalled me to life.

I am not ſo cruel as thou, ſaid ſhe, for I have never thought of killing thee; and yet thou wouldeſt draw me into the darkneſs of the grave. Open thoſe dying eyes, if thou wouldſt not have mine ſhut for ever;

She embraced me, and I received my pardon; but alas! it was without the hope of again becoming guilty.

As the following piece appears to be written by the ſame author, I have alſo tranſlated it from the Greek, and placed it here.

CUPID DISTRESSED.

ONE day being in the Idalian grove with the young Cephiſa, I found Cupid aſleep hid under the flowers, and ſheltered by ſome branches of myrtle, which gently yielded to the breath of the Zephyrs. The Sports and Laughter, who always follow him, were playing at ſome diſtance, and he was alone. Cupid was then in my power: his bow and quiver lay by his ſide; and, if I had pleaſed, I could have ſtole the arms of the God of Love.

Cephiſa however took the bow, drew an arrow, and, without my perceiving her, let it fly at me. On which I ſmiling ſaid. Take a ſecond, give me another wound, for this is too ſweet. She reſolved to let fly another arrow, but it fell at her feet; and ſhe ſoftly cried, This was the heavieſt arrow in the quiver of Love. She then taking it up, ſhot; and ſtriking me, I bowed, crying, O Cephiſa, wouldſt thou then bring me to my grave?

She then approached nearer to Cupid, He is in a profound ſleep, ſaid ſhe; he is fatigued with ſhooting his arrows; let us gather ſome flowers, in order to bind his hands and feet. Oh! I can never conſent to it, I returned; for he has always favoured

us.

us. I will go, then, ſaid ſhe, take his arms, and let fly an arrow at him with all my ſtrength. But he will awake, ſaid I. Well, let him, ſaid ſhe; what can he do but wound us more? No, no, I returned, do not diſturb his repoſe; we will remain near him, and ſhall by that means be more inflamed.

Cephiſa then took the leaves of myrtle and roſes, and cried, I am reſolved to cover Cupid with them. The Sports and Laughter ſought him, but could not find him, when ſhe threw them upon him, and laughed to ſee the little God almoſt buried. But what am I amuſing myſelf about, ſaid ſhe? I muſt cut his wings, that there may be no more inconſtant men upon earth; for this God flies from heart to heart, carrying inconſtancy with him. She then took her ſciſſars, ſat down, and held in her hand the ends of his golden pinions. I felt my heart ſtruck with fear, and cried, Stop, Cephiſa! But ſhe heard me not, and having cut the tip of his wings, left her ſciſſars, and fled.

When Cupid awoke, he endeavoured to fly; but felt an unaccuſtomed weight; on ſeeing the clippings of the feathers ſcattered among the flowers, he began to weep. But Jupiter perceiving him from high Olympus, ſent him a cloud that carried him to the Temple of Gnidus, and laid him on the boſom of Venus. Mother, ſaid he, I beat upon your breaſt with my wings; they are cut, and what will become of me? Son, ſaid the lovely Cypria, do not weep; ſtay in my boſom, and do not ſtir; the warmth you will find there will make them grow again. Do you not ſee that they are already larger? Embrace me; they grow; you will ſoon find them as before; I already ſee the tips of the golden feathers; in another moment—'tis enough, fly, fly, my

my ſon. Yes, ſaid he, I am going to venture. He flew; he reſted himſelf near the Goddeſs; and inſtantly returned to her boſom. He thence took a ſecond flight; reſted at a greater diſtance; and again returned to the boſom of Venus. He kiſſed it, ſhe ſmiled; he kiſſed it again, and played with her: and at length aroſe into the air, where he reigns over all nature.

Cupid, to be revenged on Cephiſa, has rendered her the moſt volatile of all the fair; and has cauſed her to burn every day with a freſh flame. She has loved me; ſhe has loved Daphnis; and ſhe ſtill loves Cleon. Cruel Cupid! it is me whom you puniſh. I would gladly bear the pain inflicted for her crime: but haſt thou not other torments for me to ſuffer?

LYSI-

LYSIMACHUS.

LYSIMACHUS.

LYSIMACHUS.

WHEN Alexander had deſtroyed the Perſian Empire, he reſolved to raiſe a belief, that he was the ſon of Jupiter. The Macedonians were vexed at ſeeing that Prince bluſh at having Philip for his father: their diſcontent encreaſed, when they beheld him aſſume the manners, the cuſtoms, and the dreſs of the Perſians; and they reproached themſelves for having done ſo much for a man who began to deſpiſe them. But the murmurs of the army did not break out into words.

A philoſopher, named Calliſthenes, had followed the king in his expedition. One day he ſaluted him after the manner of the Greeks: on which Alexander cried, "Whence comes it that thou doſt not adore "me?" "My Lord, ſaid Calliſthenes, thou art the "chief of two nations: the one were ſlaves before "they had ſubmitted to thee, and are not leſs ſo "ſince thou haſt conquered them; the other free "before they aſſiſted thee in gaining ſo many vic-"tories, and are ſo ſtill ſince thou haſt obtained "them. I am a Greek, my Lord; and that name "thou haſt raiſed ſo high, that we cannot degrade "it without injuring thee."

The vices of Alexander were as extraordinary as his virtues. He was terrible in his anger; it rendered him cruel. He cauſed the feet, noſe, and ears of Calliſthenes to be cut off; ordered that he ſhould

ſhould be ſhut up in an iron cage, and this carried in the train of his army.

I loved Calliſthenes; and whenever buſineſs would allow me ſome hours of leiſure, I was uſed to employ them in liſtening to him: and if I have any love for virtue, I owe it to the impreſſions I have received from his diſcourſes. I went to viſit him. "I ſalute "thee, ſaid I, illuſtrious but unhappy Calliſthenes, "whom I ſee, like a wild beaſt, kept in a cage of "iron, for having been the only man in the army."

"Lyſimachus, ſaid he, when I ſee myſelf in a "ſituation that demands courage and fortitude, I "ſeem to be almoſt in my proper ſituation. In- "deed, had the Gods placed me upon earth, only to "lead here a life of pleaſure, I believe they would "have given me in vain a great and immortal ſoul. "To enjoy the pleaſures of ſenſe, is a thing of "which all men are eaſily capable; and if the "Gods have made us only for that, they have "made a work more perfect than they intended, "and have executed more than they deſigned. Not, "added he, that I am inſenſible. Thou let'ſt me "too plainly ſee that I am not. When I ſaw thee "coming, I felt a ſudden pleaſure at ſeeing thee "perform ſo courageous an action. But I conjure "thee, in the name of the Gods, to let this be the "laſt time. Leave me to ſupport my misfortunes; "and be not ſo cruel as to add to them the weight "of thine."

"Calliſthenes, ſaid I, I will viſit thee every day. "If the king ſees thee abandoned by virtuous men, "he will no longer feel the leaſt remorſe; he will "begin to believe that thou art guilty. I hope he "will never enjoy the pleaſure of ſeeing, that his "chaſtiſements have made me abandon a friend."

One day Calliſthenes ſaid to me, "The immortal "Gods have given me conſolation; and ever ſince

"I feel

" I feel within me ſomething divine, that has taken " away the ſenſibility of my pains. I have ſeen in " a dream the great Jupiter. Thou waſt near him; " thou hadſt a ſceptre in thine hand, and a royal " circlet on thy forehead. He ſhewed thee to me, " and ſaid, *He will render thee more happy.* The " emotions I felt awakened me from ſleep. I found " my hands lifted up towards heaven, and was " making an effort to ſay, *Great Jupiter, if Lyſi-* " *machus is to reign, grant that he may reign with* " *juſtice.* Lyſimachus, thou ſhalt reign: believe a " man who muſt be pleaſing to the Gods, ſince he " ſuffers in the cauſe of virtue."

In the mean while Alexander being informed, that I ſhewed reſpect to the miſery of Calliſthenes, that I went to viſit him, and even preſumed to complain of his treatment, was filled with a freſh tranſport of rage. " Go, ſaid he, and fight with lions, unhappy " wretch, that takeſt delight in living with wild " beaſts." My puniſhment was, however, deferred, that it might ſerve as a ſpectacle to a great number of men.

The day which preceded it I wrote theſe words to Calliſthenes: " I am going to die. All the ideas " thou haſt given me of my future grandeur are " vaniſhed from my mind. I could have wiſhed to " alleviate the ſufferings of a man like thee."

Prexapes, in whom I confided, brought this anſwer: " Lyſimachus, if the Gods have reſolved that " thou ſhalt reign, Alexander cannot take away thy " life; for men have it not in their power to oppoſe " the will of the Gods."

From this letter I received encouragement: and reflecting, that the happieſt and moſt unhappy of mankind are equally ſurrounded by the divine hand, I reſolved to conduct myſelf, not by my hopes,

but

but by my courage, and to defend to the laſt a life on which depended ſuch great promiſes.

They led me to the circus, where I was ſurrounded by an immenſe number of people, who came to be witneſs of my courage or my fear. A lion was let looſe upon me. I wrapped my cloak about my arm: I preſented it to him: he would have devoured it: I thruſt it far into his mouth, ſeized his tongue by the roots, tore it out, and threw it at my feet.

Alexander was naturally fond of courageous actions. He admired my reſolution; and at that moment the greatneſs of his ſoul returned.

He gave orders for my being called to him; and holding out his hand to me, "Lyſimachus, ſaid "he, I return thee my friendſhip, return me thine: "my anger has only ſerved to make thee perform "an action that was wanting in the life of Alex-"ander."

I received the king's favour, adored the decrees of the Gods, and waited for their promiſes, without ſeeking or flying from them. Alexander died; and all the nations were without a maſter. The king's ſons were in their infancy: his brother Arideus had not yet come into Perſia: Olympias had only the boldneſs of weak minds, and cruelty to her was courage. Roxana, Eurydice, Statyra, were loſt in grief. Every body in the palace gave vent to their groans, and nobody thought of reigning. Alexander's captains then raiſed their eyes up to the throne; but the ambition of each was checked by the ambition of all. We divided the empire; and each of us believed that he had ſhared the price of his fatigues.

It was my lot to be made King of Aſia; and now, when I can do whatever I pleaſe, I am more in need than ever of the leſſons of Calliſthenes. His joy

joy informs me that I have done a good action, and his ſighs tell me that I have ſome evil to repair. I find him between my people and me.

I am King of a people who love me. The fathers of families hope for the length of my life, as for that of their children. The young fear to loſe me, as they fear to loſe a father. My ſubjects are happy, and I am ſo too.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE SPIRIT OF LAWS.

By M. D'ALEMBERT.

THE greateſt part of the men of letters who have mentioned the Spirit of Laws, having rather endeavoured to criticiſe it than to give a juſt idea of it; we ſhall endeavour to ſupply what they ought to have done, and to explain its plan, its nature, and its object. Thoſe who may think this Analyſis too long, will perhaps be of opinion, after having read it, that there was no other method but this alone of making the author's method properly underſtood. Beſides, it ought to be remembered, that the hiſtory of celebrated writers is no more than that of their thoughts and their works; and that this part of their hiſtory is the moſt eſſential, and moſt uſeful.

Men in the ſtate of nature, abſtracting from all religion, in thoſe diſputes which they may have, knowing no other law but that of all animals, the

right of the ſtrongeſt, the eſtabliſhment of ſociety ought to be regarded as a kind of treaty againſt this unjuſt title; a treaty deſtined to eſtabliſh a ſort of balance between the different diviſions of the human race.

But it happens in the moral, as in the phyſical equilibrium; it is ſeldom perfect and durable, and the treaties of mankind are, like treaties among our princes, a perpetual ſource of diſputes. Intereſt, neceſſity, and pleaſure, made men aſſociate together. The ſame motives puſh them continually to want to enjoy the advantages of ſociety without bearing the burdens of it; and it is in this ſenſe that we may ſay with our author, That men, from the time they enter into ſociety, are in a ſtate of war. For war ſuppoſes in thoſe who make it, if not an equality of ſtrength, at leaſt an opinion of this equality; whence ariſe the mutual deſire and hope of conqueſt. Now, in a ſtate of ſociety, if the balance among men is never perfect, neither is it, on the other hand, too unequal. On the contrary, they would either have nothing to diſpute about in the ſtate of nature; or if neceſſity obliged them to it, nothing would be ſeen but weakneſs flying before force, oppreſſors meeting with no reſiſtance, and thoſe who were oppreſſed, tamely ſubmitting.

Behold then men, united and armed at the ſame time, embracing each other on one ſide, if we may ſpeak ſo; and endeavouring on the other mutually to wound each other. Laws are the chains, more or leſs efficacious, which are deſtined to ſuſpend or to reſtrain their blows. But the prodigious extent of the globe which we inhabit, the different nature of the regions of the earth, and of the people who are ſpread over it, not permitting that all mankind

ſhould

ſhould live under one and the ſame goverment, the human race was obliged to divide itſelf into a certain number of ſtates, diſtinguiſhed by the difference of thoſe laws to which they are ſubjected. One ſingle government would have made the human kind to have been no more than one extenuated and languiſhing body, extended without vigour over the ſurface of the earth. The different governments are ſo many robuſt and active bodies, which, by mutually aſſiſting each other, form one whole, and whoſe reciprocal action maintains and keeps up motion and life every where.

We may diſtinguiſh three ſorts of governments, the republican, the monarchical, the deſpotic. In the republican, the people in a body poſſeſs the ſovereign power. In the monarchical, one ſingle perſon governs by fundamental laws. In the deſpotic, no other law is known but the will of a maſter, or rather of a tyrant. This is not to ſay, that there are in the univerſe only theſe three kinds of government; it is not even to ſay, that there are ſtates which belong only and ſtrictly to ſome one of theſe forms; the greateſt part of them are mixed or ſhaded the one with the other. Here, monarchy inclines to deſpotiſm; there, the monarchical government is combined with the republican; elſewhere, it is not the whole people, it is only a part of them, which make the laws. But the preceding diviſion is not on that account the leſs juſt and exact. The three kinds of government which it includes, are ſo diſtinguiſhed that they have properly nothing in common; and beſides, all the governments which we know participate the one of the other. It was then neceſſary to form particular claſſes of theſe three kinds, and afterwards to determine the laws which are proper for each; it will be eaſy

afterwards to adapt thoſe laws to any particular government, according as it may belong more or leſs to thoſe different forms.

In different ſtates, the laws ought to be relative to their *nature*, that is to ſay, *to that which conſtitutes them*; and to their *principle*, that is to ſay, *to that which ſupports them*, and puts them in motion: an important diſtinction, the key of an infinite number of laws, and from which the author draws many conſequences.

The principal laws relative to the *nature* of democracy are; That the people be in ſome reſpects the monarch, and in others the ſubject; that it elect and judge its magiſtrates, and that the magiſtrates on certain occaſions decide. The *nature* of monarchy requires, That there be between the monarch and the people one body to whom the laws are entruſted, and which ought to be a mediator between the ſubject and the prince. The *nature* of deſpotiſm requires, That the tyrant exerciſe his authority, either by himſelf alone, or by one who repreſents him.

As to the *principle* of the three governments; that of democracy is the love of the republic, that is, of equality. In monarchies where one ſingle perſon is the diſpenſer of diſtinctions and rewards, and where they are accuſtomed to confound the ſtate with this ſingle man, the principle is honour, that is, ambition, and the love of eſteem. Laſtly, under deſpotiſm, it is fear. The more vigorous theſe principles are, the more fixed the government is; the more theſe are altered and corrupted, the more it tends to its deſtruction. When the author ſpeaks of equality in democracy, he does not mean an extreme, abſolute, and conſequently chimerical equality. He means that happy equilibrium which renders

renders all the citizens equally ſubject to the laws, and equally intereſted to obſerve them.

In every government the laws of education ought to be relative to its *principle*. We underſtand here by *education* that which they receive when they are entering upon the world; and not that of parents and of ſchool-maſters, which is often contrary to it, eſpecially in ſome ſtates. In monarchies, education ought to have for its object politeneſs and reciprocal civilities: in deſpotic ſtates, terror, and the debaſing the ſpirits of men. In republics they have occaſion for all the force of education: it ought to inſpire a ſentiment which is noble, but hard to be attained, that diſregard to our own intereſt from whence the love of our country ariſes.

The laws which the legiſlator makes ought to be conformable to the principle of each government: in a republic, to maintain equality and frugality; in monarchy, to ſupport the nobility without ruining the people; in a deſpotic government, to ſilence and equally to keep under ſubjection thoſe of every condition. M. de Monteſquieu ought not to be accuſed of having pointed out to ſovereigns the principles of arbitrary power, the very name of which is ſo odious to juſt princes, and ſtill more ſo to a wiſe and virtuous citizen. It is to labour to deſtroy it, to point out what is neceſſary to maintain it: the perfection of this government is its ruin, and an exact ſyſtem of the laws of tyranny, ſuch as our author deſcribes it to us, is at the ſame time a ſatire upon, and the moſt formidable ſcourge of tyrants. With reſpect to other governments, they have each their advantages; the republican is more proper to ſmall, the monarchical to great ſtates; the republican is more ſubjected to exceſſes, the monarchical to abuſes; the republican executes

the laws after more mature deliberation, the monarchical with more promptitude.

The difference of the principles of the three governments muſt produce many differences in the number and object of laws, in the forms of judgments, and the nature of puniſhments. The conſtitution of monarchies, being invariable and fundamental, requires more civil laws and tribunals, that juſtice may be adminiſtered in the moſt uniform and leaſt arbitrary manner. In moderate governments, be they monarchical or republican, there cannot be too many formalities in criminal laws. Puniſhments ought not only to be in proportion to the crime, but alſo as gentle as poſſible, eſpecially in a democracy: the opinion attached to puniſhments will often have more effect than their ſeverity. In republics, judgment muſt be given according to law, becauſe no individual has the power to alter it. In monarchies, the clemency of the ſovereign can ſometimes ſoften the law; but crimes ought never to be judged there but by magiſtrates expreſsly intruſted with that office. In a word, 'tis principally in democracies that the laws ought to be ſevere againſt luxury, looſeneſs of morals, and debauching of women. Their very ſoftneſs and weakneſs render them fit enough to govern in monarchies; and hiſtory proves, that they have often wore a crown with glory.

M. de Monteſquieu having thus run over each government in particular, afterwards examines them in the relation which they may have with each other, but only in the moſt general point of view, that is to ſay, under that which is only relative to their nature and their principle. Viewed in this light, ſtates can have no relations, but that of defending themſelves, or of attacking. Republics by their nature,

nature, ſuppoſing their ſtate to be ſmall, cannot defend themſelves without alliances; but it is with republics that they ought to ally themſelves. The defenſive force of monarchy conſiſts principally in having frontiers ſecured from inſults. States, like men, have a right to attack for their own preſervation: from the right of war that of conqueſt is derived; a right neceſſary, lawful, calamitous, *which always lays an immenſe debt upon us, if we would diſcharge what on that account becomes due from us to human nature*, and the general law of which is to do as little harm as poſſible to the conquered. Republics can conquer leſs than monarchies: immenſe conqueſts ſuppoſe deſpotiſm already in a ſtate, or render its approach certain. One of the great principles of the ſpirit of conqueſt ought to be, to render the condition of the conquered as much better as poſſible: this is to fulfil, at once, the law of nature, and a maxim of ſtate. Nothing is more noble than that treaty of peace which Gelo made with the Carthaginians, by which he forbad them to ſacrifice for the future their own children. The Spaniards, when they conquered Peru, ought in the ſame way to have obliged the inhabitants no more to have ſacrificed men to their Gods; but they thought it more advantageous to ſacrifice theſe people themſelves. There remained nothing to them as a conqueſt but a vaſt deſert, they were obliged to depopulate their own country, and for ever weakened it by their own conqueſt. It may ſometimes be neceſſary to change the laws of the conquered people; it can never be ſo to deprive them of their manners, or even of their cuſtoms, which are often all they have for manners. But the ſureſt way of preſerving a conqueſt, is to put, if it is poſſible, the conquered on a level with the con-

conquerors, to grant them the ſame rights and the ſame privileges; this the Romans often did, and thus eſpecially Cæſar acted with reſpect to the Gauls.

Hitherto, when conſidering government, as well in itſelf as in its relation to others, we have neither taken notice of what ought to be common to them, nor of thoſe particular circumſtances which ariſe either from the nature of the country, or from the genius of the people. It is this which we muſt now explain.

That political liberty which every citizen ought to enjoy, is the common law of all governments, at leaſt moderate governments, and conſequently juſt ones. This liberty is not an abſurd licence of doing every thing we wiſh to do, *but the power of doing every thing that the laws permit.* It may be conſidered either in its relation to the conſtitution, or in its relation to the citizen. There are in the conſtitution of every ſtate two ſorts of powers, the legiſlative and the executive: and this laſt has two objects, the internal police, and its relation to foreign intereſts. It is from the legitimate diſtribution and proper ſubdiviſion of theſe different powers, that the greateſt perfection of political liberty with relation to the conſtitution depends. M. de Monteſquieu brings as a proof of this the conſtitution of the Roman republic, and that of England. He finds the principle of the laſt in that fundamental law of the government of the ancient Germans, that affairs of ſmall importance were determined by the chiefs, and that great affairs were brought before the tribunal of the nation, after they had been firſt debated by them. M. de Monteſquieu does not examine whether the Engliſh enjoy actually or not that high political liberty which their conſtitution gives

gives them; it is enough for him that it is eſtabliſhed by their laws. He is ſtill farther from writing a ſatire upon other ſtates: he believes on the contrary, that an exceſs even of good is not always deſirable; that extreme liberty, like extreme ſlavery, has its inconveniencies; and that in general human nature is moſt adapted to a middling ſtate of freedom.

Political liberty, conſidered with relation to a citizen, conſiſts *in that ſecurity in which he lives under ſhelter of the laws*; or at leaſt in an opinion of this ſecurity which makes no one citizen entertain any fear of another. It is principally by the nature and proportion of puniſhments, that this liberty is eſtabliſhed or deſtroyed. Crimes againſt religion ought to be puniſhed by a privation of thoſe advantages which religion procures; crimes againſt morality, by ſhame; crimes againſt the public tranquillity, by impriſonment or baniſhment; crimes againſt its ſecurity, by more grievous puniſhments. Writings ought to be leſs puniſhed than actions; ſimple thoughts ought never to be ſo. Accuſations which are not according to the forms of law, ſpies, anonymous letters, all thoſe reſources of tyranny which are equally diſgraceful to ſuch as are the inſtruments of them, and to thoſe who make uſe of them, ought to be proſcribed in every good monarchical government. Nobody ought to be permitted to accuſe but in face of the law, which always puniſhes either the accuſed perſon or the calumniator. In every other caſe, thoſe who govern ought to ſay, with the Emperor Conſtantius: *We cannot ſuſpect a man againſt whom no accuſer appeared, when at the ſame time he did not want an enemy.* It is a very fine inſtitution by which a public officer charges himſelf, in name of the ſtate, with the proſecution of crimes; as this anſwers all the good purpoſes of informers without

without being expoſed to thoſe ſordid intereſts, thoſe inconveniencies, and that infamy, which attend them.

The greatneſs of taxes ought to be in a direct proportion with public liberty. Thus, in democracies they may be greater than elſewhere, without being burdenſome; becauſe every citizen looks upon them as a tribute which he pays to himſelf, and which ſecures the tranquillity and fortune of every member of it. Beſides, in a democratical ſtate, an unjuſt application of the public revenue is more difficult; becauſe it is eaſier to find it out, and to puniſh it, he who is intruſted with it being obliged to give an account of it, ſo to ſpeak, to the firſt citizen who requires it of him.

In every government, of whatever ſort, the leaſt burdenſome kind of tax is that which is laid upon merchandize; becauſe the citizen pays without perceiving it. An exceſſive number of troops in time of peace is only a pretence to load the people with taxes, a means of enervating the ſtate, and an inſtrument of ſlavery.

That adminiſtration of the revenues which makes the whole produce of it enter into the public treaſury is beyond compariſon leaſt chargeable to the people, and conſequently more advantageous when it can take place, than the farming out of theſe taxes, which always leaves in the hand of private perſons part of the revenue of the ſtate. But above all, every thing is ruined (theſe are the author's own words) when the profeſſion of a farmer of the revenues becomes honourable; and it becomes ſo, when luxury is at a great height. To permit ſome men to acquire vaſt fortunes out of what belongs to the public, to plunder them in their turn, as was formerly practiſed in certain ſtates, is to repair

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one injuſtice by another, and to commit two ills inſtead of one.

Let us now come, with M. de Monteſquieu, to thoſe particular circumſtances which are independent of the nature of government, and to which laws ought to be adapted. The circumſtances which ariſe from the nature of the country, are of two ſorts; the one has a relation to the climate, the other to the ſoil. Nobody doubts but that the climate has an influence upon the habitual diſpoſition of the bodies, and conſequently upon the characters of men; on which account laws ought to be framed agreeable to the nature of the clime in indifferent things, and, on the contrary, to reſiſt its bad effects. Thus, in countries where the uſe of wine is hurtful, that law which forbids it is a very good one: in countries where the heat of the climate inclines people to lazineſs, that law which encourages labour is a very proper one. The government can then correct the effects of the climate; and this is enough to obviate that reproach which has been thrown upon the Spirit of Laws, as if it attributed every thing to cold and heat: for, beſides that heat and cold are not the only circumſtances by which climates are diſtinguiſhed, it would be as abſurd to deny certain effects of climate, as to attribute every thing to it.

The practice of having ſlaves, eſtabliſhed in the warm countries of Aſia and America, and rejected in the temperate climates of Europe, affords our author an opportunity of treating of ſlavery in a ſtate. Men having no more right over the liberty, than over the lives of each other, it follows that ſlavery, generally ſpeaking, is againſt the law of nature. In effect, the right of ſlavery cannot ariſe from war, becauſe it could not then be founded

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on any thing but the redemption of one's life, and nobody has a right over the life of one who no longer attacks him; nor from that ſale which a man may make of himſelf to another, ſince every citizen, being accountable for his life to the ſtate, is ſtill more ſo for his liberty, and conſequently has no title to ſell it. Beſides, what could be a proper price for ſuch a ſale? It cannot be the money given to the ſeller, becauſe the moment he ſells himſelf every thing that belongs to him becomes the property of his maſter: now a ſale without a price is as chimerical, as a contract without a condition. There could never be but one juſt law in favour of ſlavery; this was that Roman law which made a debtor become the ſlave of a creditor: and even this law, to be equitable, ought to limit the ſlavery, both with reſpect to its degree, and time of duration. Slavery can only be tolerated in deſpotic ſtates, where freemen, too weak againſt the government, endeavour to become, by their uſefulneſs, the ſlaves of thoſe who tyranniſe over the ſtate; or in thoſe climates, where heat ſo enervates the body and weakens the courage, that men cannot be incited to a laborious taſk but by the fear of puniſhment. Near to civil ſlavery may be placed domeſtic ſlavery, that is, that in which women are kept in certain countries. This can take place in thoſe countries of Aſia where they are in a condition to live with men before they can make uſe of their reaſon; marriageable by the law of the climate, children by that of nature. This ſubjection becomes ſtill more neceſſary in thoſe countries where polygamy is eſtabliſhed: a cuſtom which M. de Monteſquieu does not pretend to juſtify, in ſo far as it is contrary to religion; but which, in places where it is received, and, only ſpeaking politically, may have a foundation

ation to a certain degree, either from the nature of the climate, or the relation which the number of women bears to that of men. M. de Monteſquieu ſpeaks upon this occaſion of repudiation and divorce; and he ſhows, from good reaſons, that repudiation once admitted ought to be permitted to women as well as to men.

If the climate has ſo much influence on domeſtic and civil ſlavery, it has no leſs on political ſlavery; that is, upon what ſubjects one nation to another. The people in the north are ſtronger and more courageous than thoſe of the ſouth: theſe muſt then in general be conquered, thoſe conquerors; theſe ſlaves, thoſe free. And hiſtory confirms this: Aſia has been eleven times conquered by the people of the north; Europe has ſuffered many fewer revolutions.

With reſpect to laws relative to the nature of the ſoil, it is plain, that democracy agrees better than monarchy to barren countries, where the earth has occaſion for all the induſtry of men. Liberty, beſides, in this caſe, is a ſort of recompence for the difficulty of labour. More laws are neceſſary for a people which follows agriculture, than for one which tends flocks; for this, than for a hunting people; for a people which makes uſe of money, than for one that does not: in a word, the particular genius of a nation ought to be attended to. Vanity, which augments objects, is a good ſpring for government; pride, which undervalues them, is a dangerous one. The legiſlator ought to reſpect, to a certain degree, prejudices, paſſions, abuſes. He ought to imitate Solon, who gave the Athenians not thoſe laws which were beſt in themſelves, but the beſt which they were capable of receiving: the gay character of this people required gentle, the auſtere character of the Lace-

Lacedæmonians, ſevere laws. Laws are a bad method of changing the manners and cuſtoms; 'tis by rewards and example that we ought to endeavour to bring that about. It is however true at the ſame time, that the laws of a people, when they do not groſsly and directly affect to ſhock its manners, muſt inſenſibly have an influence upon them, either to confirm or change them.

After having in this manner deeply conſidered the Nature and Spirit of Laws with relation to different kinds of climates and people, our author returns again to conſider ſtates in that relation which they bear to each other. At firſt, when comparing them in a general manner, he could only view them with reſpect to the prejudice which they can do each other: here he conſiders them with reſpect to thoſe mutual ſuccours which they can give. Now theſe ſuccours are principally founded on commerce. If the ſpirit of commerce naturally produces a ſpirit of intereſt, which is different from the ſublimity of moral virtues, it alſo renders the people naturally juſt, and averſe to idleneſs and living on plunder. Free people who live under moderate governments, muſt be more given to it, than enſlaved nations. No nation ought ever to exclude from its commerce another nation without great reaſons. Beſides, liberty in this way is not an abſolute privilege granted to merchants to do what they will; a power which would be oft prejudicial to them. It conſiſts in laying no reſtraints on merchants but for the advantage of commerce. In a monarchy, the nobility ought not to apply to it, and ſtill leſs the prince. In a word, there are ſome nations to which commerce is diſadvantageous; but they are not ſuch as ſtand in need of nothing, but ſuch as ſtand in need of every thing; a paradox which our author renders intel-

intelligible by the example of Poland, which wants every thing except corn, and which, by that commerce which it carries on with it, deprives the common people of the neceſſaries of life, to gratify the luxury of the nobility. M. de Monteſquieu takes occaſion, when treating of thoſe laws which commerce requires, to give us an hiſtory of its different revolutions: and this part of his Book is neither the leaſt intereſting, nor the leaſt curious. He compares the impoveriſhment of Spain by the diſcovery of America, to the fate of that weak prince in the fable, ready to periſh for hunger, becauſe he had aſked the Gods that every thing that he touched ſhould be turned into gold. The uſe of money being one conſiderable part of the object of commerce, and its principal inſtrument, he was of opinion that he ought, in conſequence of this, to treat of the different operations with reſpect to money, of exchange, of the payment of public debts, of lending out money for intereſt, the rules and limits of which he fixes, and which he diſtinguiſhes accurately from that exceſs ſo juſtly condemned as uſury.

Population and the number of inhabitants have an immediate connexion with commerce; and marriages, having population as their object, under this article de M. Monteſquieu goes to the bottom of this important ſubject. That which favours propagation moſt is general chaſtity: experience proves, that illicit amours contribute very little, and even ſometimes are prejudicial to it. The conſent of fathers has with juſtice been required in marriages: nevertheleſs ſome reſtrictions ought to be added; for the law ought in general to favour marriage. That law which forbids the marriage of mothers with their ſons, is, independently of the precepts

of religion, a very good civil law; for, without mentioning ſeveral other reaſons, the parties being of very different ages, theſe ſort of marriages can rarely have propagation as their object. That law which forbids the marriage of a father with a daughter is founded upon very different reaſons. However (only ſpeaking in a political ſenſe) it is not ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to the object of population as the other, becauſe the power of propagating continues much longer in men; and the other cuſtom has, beſides, been eſtabliſhed among certain nations which the light of chriſtianity had not enlightened. As nature of herſelf prompts to marriage, that muſt be a bad government which is obliged to encourage it. Liberty, ſecurity, moderate taxes, baniſhing of luxury, are the true principles and ſupports of populouſneſs. However laws may, with ſucceſs, be made to encourage marriage, when, in ſpite of corruption, there is ſtill ſomething remaining in the people which attaches them to the love of their country. Nothing is finer than the laws of Auguſtus, to promote the propagation of the ſpecies. Unfortunately he made thoſe laws in the decline, or rather after the downfal of the republic; and the diſpirited citizens muſt have foreſeen, that they would no longer propagate any thing but ſlaves: and indeed the execution of thoſe laws was very faint during all the time of the Pagan Emperors. At laſt Conſtantine aboliſhed them when he became a Chriſtian; as if chriſtianity had had in view to diſpeople the world when it recommended the perfection of celibacy to a ſmall number.

The eſtabliſhment of hoſpitals, according to the different ſpirit of theſe foundations, may be hurtful or favourable to population. There may, and indeed

indeed there ought to be, hoſpitals in a ſtate where the moſt part of the citizens are maintained by their induſtry; becauſe this induſtry may ſometimes be unſucceſsful; but that relief which thoſe hoſpitals give ought to be only temporary, not to encourage beggary and idleneſs. The people are firſt to be made rich, and then hoſpitals to be built for unforeſeen and preſſing occaſions. Unhappy are thoſe countries where the multitude of hoſpitals and of monaſteries, which are only a kind of perpetual hoſpitals, makes all the world live at eaſe but thoſe who work!

M. de Monteſquieu has hitherto only ſpoke of human laws; he now proceeds to thoſe of religion, which, in almoſt all ſtates, compoſe ſo eſſential an object of government. Every where he breaks forth into praiſes of chriſtianity; he points out its advantages and its grandeur; he endeavours to make it be loved; he maintains that it is not impoſſible, as Bayle has pretended, that a ſociety of perfect chriſtians ſhould actually form a durable ſtate. But he alſo thought that he might be permitted to examine what different religions, humanly ſpeaking, might have, ſuitable or unſuitable to the genius and ſituation of thoſe people which profeſs them. It is in this point of view that we muſt read all that he has wrote upon this article, and which has been the ſubject of ſo many unjuſt declamations. It is eſpecially ſurpriſing that, in an age which preſumes to call ſo many others barbarous, what he has ſaid of toleration ſhould be objected to him as a crime; as if approving and tolerating a religion were the ſame; as if the goſpel itſelf did not forbid every other way of propagating it, but that of meekneſs and perſuaſion. Thoſe in whoſe heart ſuperſtition has not extinguiſhed every ſentiment of compaſſion and

juſtice, will not be able to read, without being moved, the Remonſtrance to the Inquiſitors, that odious tribunal, which outrageouſly affronts religion when it appears to avenge it.

In a word, after having treated in particular of the different kind of laws which men can have, there remains nothing more than to compare them all together, and to examine them in their relation with thoſe things concerning which they preſcribe rules.

Men are governed by different kinds of laws; by natural law, common to each individual; by the divine law, which is that of religion; by the eccleſiaſtical law, which is that of the policy of religion; by the civil law, which is that of the members of the ſame ſociety; by the political law, which is that of the government of that ſociety; by the law of nations, which is that of ſocieties with reſpect to each other. Theſe laws have each their diſtinct objects, which are carefully not to be confounded. That which belongs to the one ought never to be regulated by the other, leſt diſorder and injuſtice ſhould be introduced into the principles which govern men. In a word, thoſe principles which preſcribe the nature of the laws, and which determine their objects, ought to prevail alſo in the manner of compoſing them. A ſpirit of moderation ought, as much as poſſible, to dictate all their different diſpoſitions. Laws that are properly made will be conformed to the intention of the legiſlator, even when they appear to be in oppoſition to it. Such was the famous law of Solon, by which all who ſhould not take ſome part in the public tumults were declared infamous. It prevented ſeditions, or rendered them uſeful by forcing all the members of the republic to attend to its true intereſts. Even

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the oſtraciſm was a good law; for, on one hand it was honourable to the citizen who was the object of it, and prevented on the other, the effects of ambition: beſides a great number of ſuffrages was neceſſary, and they could only baniſh every fifth year. Laws, which appear the ſame, have often neither the ſame motive, nor the ſame effect, nor the ſame equity. The form of government, different conjunctures, and the genius of the people, quite change them. In a word, the ſtyle of laws ought to be ſimple and grave. They may diſpenſe with giving reaſons, becauſe the reaſon is ſuppoſed to exiſt in the mind of the legiſlator; but when they give reaſons, they ought to be built upon evident principles: they ought not to reſemble that law which, prohibiting blind people to plead, gives this as a reaſon, becauſe they cannot ſee the ornaments of magiſtracy.

M. de Monteſquieu, to point out by examples the application of his principles, has choſen two different people, the moſt celebrated in the world, and thoſe whoſe hiſtory moſt intereſts us; the Romans and the French. He does not dwell but upon one point of the juriſprudence of the firſt, that which regards ſucceſſion. With regard to the French, he enters into a greater detail, concerning the origin and revolutions of their civil laws, and the different uſages aboliſhed or ſtill ſubſiſting which have been the conſequences of them. He principally enlarges upon the feudal laws, that kind of government unknown to all antiquity, which will perhaps forever be ſo to future ages, and which has done ſo much good and ſo much ill. He eſpecially conſiders theſe laws in the relation which they have with the eſtabliſhment and revolution of the French monarchy. He proves, againſt the Abbé du Bos, that the

the Franks actually entered as conquerors among the Gauls; and that it is not true, as this author pretends, that they had been called by the people to ſucceed to the rights of the Roman Emperors who oppreſſed them: a detail profound, exact and curious, but in which it is impoſſible for us to follow him.

Such is the general analyſis, but a very imperfect one, of M. de Monteſquieu's work.

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DEFENCE

OF

THE SPIRIT OF LAWS.

To which are added,

SOME EXPLANATIONS.

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THE SPIRIT OF LAWS.

PART I.

THIS Defence is divided into three parts. In the firſt are anſwered the general reproaches that have been caſt on the Author of the Spirit of Laws. In the ſecond, a reply is made to particular reproaches; And the third contains reflections on the manner in which he has been treated. The Public will ſoon be acquainted with the ſtate of the caſe; and to its judgment the Author refers.

I.

THOUGH the Spirit of Laws is intirely a work relating to politics and civil law, the Author has had frequent occaſion, in the courſe of that work, to mention the Chriſtian religion. He has done it in ſuch a manner, as fully to ſhew its dignity; and though he has had no view of endeavouring

vouring to prove it to be true, he has ſought to render it beloved.

However, in two periodical pieces that have ſucceſſively followed each other *, the moſt dreadful imputations have been caſt upon him. The inquiry is no leſs, than whether the author be a Spinoſiſt and a Deiſt: And though theſe accuſations are in their own nature contradictory, the critic inceſſantly returns from one to the other.

Both being incompatible cannot render him more guilty than one alone; but both may render him more odious.

He is a Spinoſiſt, who in the firſt article of his book has diſtinguiſhed between the material world and ſpiritual intelligences.

He is a Spinoſiſt, who in the ſecond article has attacked Atheiſm. "Thoſe who aſſert, that a blind "fatality produced the various effects we behold in "this world, are guilty of a very great abſurdity: "For can any thing be more abſurd, than to pre-"tend that a blind fatality could produce intelligent "beings."

He is a Spinoſiſt who continues to ſay, "God is "related to the univerſe as creator and preſerver †; "the laws by which he has created all things, are "thoſe by which he preſerves them. He acts ac-"cording to theſe rules becauſe he knows them: "And he made them becauſe they are relative to "his wiſdom and power."

He is a Spinoſiſt who has added: "As we ſee "that the world, though formed by the motion of "matter, and void of underſtanding, continues to "ſubſiſt, &c. ‡"

* One on the 9th of October, 1749; and the other on the 16th of the ſame month.

† Book i. chap. 1. ‡ Ibid.

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He is a Spinoſiſt who has ſhewn, againſt Hobbes and Spinoſa, That "before laws were made, there "were relations of poſſible juſtice *."

He is a Spinoſiſt who, in the beginning of the ſecond chapter has ſaid: "The law which, im- "printing in our minds the idea of a Creator, in- "clines us to him, is the firſt, in its importance, "of natural laws."

He is a Spinoſiſt who has attacked with all his power a paradox aſſerted by Bayle, "That it is better "to be an atheiſt than an idolater;" a paradox from which the atheiſts draw the moſt dangerous conſequences.

What do they allege after ſuch expreſs paſſages? Natural equity demands that the degree of proof ſhould be proportionable to the greatneſs of the accuſation.

OBJECTION I.

The Author falls at the very firſt ſtep. "The Laws, "in their moſt general ſignification, ſays he, are the "neceſſary relations derived from the nature of "things." *The laws of relations—What can he mean by this? The Author has not however deviated from the ordinary definition of Laws without deſign. What end had he then in view? This it is. According to the new ſyſtem, there is, between all beings which form what Pope calls the* univerſal whole, *a chain ſo neceſſary, that the leaſt diſorder will produce confuſion even up to the throne of the Firſt Cauſe. This has made Pope ſay, that things can be no otherwiſe than they are, and that* whatever is, is right. *This being conſidered, we underſtand the ſignification of this new language,* that the laws are the neceſſary relations derived from

* Book i. Chap. 1.

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the nature of things. *To which it is added, in this ſenſe*, "All beings have their Laws; the Deity has "his Laws; the material world its Laws; the intel-"ligencies ſuperior to man their Laws; the beaſts "their Laws; man his Laws."

THE ANSWER.

Darkneſs itſelf is not more obſcure than this paſſage. The Critic has heard that Spinoſa maintained, that the univerſe is governed by a blind and neceſſary principle; and there needed no more. As ſoon as he found the word *neceſſary*, this muſt be Spinoſiſm. The Author has aſſerted, that the Laws are neceſſary relations: here therefore is Spinoſiſm, becauſe here is the term *neceſſary*. And what appears ſurpriſing is, that the Author, in the opinion of the Critic, is found to be a Spinoſiſt by this article, though it expreſsly oppoſes ſuch dangerous ſyſtems. The Author was attempting to overthrow Hobbes's ſyſtem; a ſyſtem the moſt terrible, it making all the virtues and vices depend on human eſtabliſhments: and by endeavouring to prove, that all mankind are born in a ſtate of war, and that the firſt natural Law, is that all ſhould make war againſt all, he, like Spinoſa, overthrows both all religion, and all morality. In anſwer to this, the Author has eſtabliſhed, in the firſt place, that there were laws of juſtice and equity before the eſtabliſhment of poſitive Laws: he has proved that all beings have Laws: that, even before their creation, they had poſſible Laws; that God himſelf has Laws, that is, Laws which he himſelf has made. He has proved, that the aſſertion, That man is born in a ſtate of war, is falſe *. He has ſhewn, that a ſtate

* Book i. Chap. 2.

of

of war did not commence till after the eſtabliſhment of ſocieties, and on this ſubject has advanced very clear principles. Whence it evidently follows: That the Author has attacked the errors of Hobbes, and the conſequences of thoſe of Spinoſa; and that hence it has happened, that ſo little has he been underſtood, that his objections againſt Spinoſiſm have been taken for the opinions of Spinoſa. Before a perſon enters into a diſpute, he ought to begin with making himſelf maſter of the ſtate of the queſtion; and with knowing whether he whom he attacks is a friend or an enemy.

OBJECTION II.

The Critic continues: *On which the Author cites Plutarch, who ſays, that* Law is the Queen of Gods and men. *But is it from a Pagan*, &c?

THE ANSWER.

It is true, the Author has quoted Plutarch, who ſays, that Law is the Queen of Gods and men.

OBJECTION III.

The Author has ſaid, That "the creation, which "ſeems to be an arbitrary act, ſuppoſes Laws as "invariable as the fatality of the atheiſts." From theſe words the Critic concludes, that the Author admits the fatality of the atheiſts.

THE ANSWER.

A little before he has deſtroyed this fatality, by ſaying, "Thoſe who aſſert that a blind fatality pro-"duced the various effects we behold in the world, "are guilty of a very great abſurdity: for can "any

" any thing be more abſurd than to pretend, that " a blind fatality can produce intelligent beings." Moreover, in the paſſage cenſured, the Author cannot be made to ſpeak of any other ſubject but that he is treating of. He is not treating of cauſes, nor does he compare cauſes: but he treats of effects, and compares effects. The whole article, that which precedes it, and that which follows, ſhew that he is here only treating of the rules of motion, which the Author aſſerts are eſtabliſhed by God. He ſays, that theſe rules are invariable; and all natural philoſophy ſays ſo too. They are invariable, becauſe God has reſolved that they ſhould be ſo, and becauſe he has determined to preſerve the world. He ſays neither more nor leſs than this.

I muſt always maintain, that the Critic never underſtands the ſenſe of things, and that he applies his attention only to words. When the Author ſays, That the creation, which ſeems to be an arbitrary act, ſuppoſes rules as invariable as the fatality of the atheiſts, it cannot be underſtood as if he had ſaid, the creation was as neceſſary an act as the fatality of the atheiſts, ſince he had already ſhewn the abſurdity of that fatality. Moreover, the two members of a compariſon ought to have a relation to each other: therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary that the ſentence ſhould run thus: The creation, which ſeems at firſt to have produced Laws of variable motion, has thoſe as invariable as the fatality of the atheiſts. The Critic, once more, has neither ſeen, nor does ſee, any thing but words.

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THERE is then no Spinoſiſm in The Spirit of Laws. Let us paſs to another accuſation; and ſee if it be true, That the Author does not acknowledge the truth of revealed religion. The Author, at the end of the firſt chapter, ſpeaking of man as a finite being, ſubject to ignorance and error, has ſaid: "Such a being might every inſtant forget his Crea- "tor; God has therefore reminded him of his duty "by the Laws of religion."

He has ſaid, in the firſt chapter of the twenty-fourth book: "I ſhall examine the ſeveral religions "in the world, in relation only to the good they "produce in civil ſociety, whether I ſpeak of that "which has its root in heaven, or of thoſe which "ſpring from the earth.

"A perſon of the leaſt degree of impartiality "muſt ſee, that I have never pretended to make "the intereſts of religion ſubmit to thoſe of a poli- "tical nature, but rather to unite them: now in "order to unite, it is neceſſary that we ſhould know "them. The Chriſtian religion, which ordains that "men ſhould love each other, would without doubt "have every nation bleſt with the beſt civil, the "beſt political Laws; becauſe theſe, next to this "religion, are the greateſt good that men can give "and receive."

And in the ſecond chapter of the ſame book: "A Prince who loves and fears religion is a lion, "who ſtoops to the hand that ſtrokes, or the voice "that appeaſes him. He who fears and hates reli- "gion, is like the ſavage beaſt, that growls, and "bites the chain which prevents his flying on the "paſſenger. He who has no religion at all, is that

"terrible

" terrible animal, who perceives his liberty only " when he tears in pieces and devours."

In the third chapter of the ſame book: " While " the Mahometan Princes inceſſantly give or receive " death, the religion of the Chriſtians renders their " Princes leſs timid, and conſequently leſs cruel. " The Prince confides in his ſubjects; and the ſub- " jects in the Prince. How admirable the religion " which, while it ſeems only to have in view the feli- " city of the other life, conſtitutes the happineſs of " this!"

In the fourth chapter of the ſame book: " From " the characters of the Chriſtian and Mahometan " religions we ought, without any further exami- " nation, to embrace the one, and reject the other."

To proceed:

In the ſixth chapter: " Mr. Bayle, after having " abuſed all religions, endeavours to ſully Chriſtia- " nity: he boldly aſſerts, that true Chriſtians cannot " form a government of any duration. Why not? " Citizens of this profeſſion, being infinitely en- " lightened, with reſpect to the various duties of " life, and having the warmeſt zeal to fulfil them, " muſt be perfectly ſenſible of the rights of natural " defence. The more they believed themſelves in- " debted to religion, the more they would think " due to their country. The principles of Chriſ- " tianity, deeply engraven on the heart, would be " infinitely more powerful than the falſe honour of " monarchies, the human virtues of republics, or " the ſervile fear of deſpotic ſtates.

" It is aſtoniſhing, that this great man ſhould " not be able to diſtinguiſh between the orders for " the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and Chriſtianity " itſelf; and that he ſhould be liable to be charged " with not knowing the ſpirit of his own religion.

" When

" When the legiſlator, inſtead of laws, has given " counſels, this is becauſe he knew, that if theſe " counſels were ordained as laws, they would be " contrary to the ſpirit of the laws themſelves."

In the tenth chapter: " Could I for a moment " ceaſe to think that I am a Chriſtian, I ſhould not " be able to hinder myſelf from ranking the de- " ſtruction of the ſect of Zeno among the misfor- " tunes that have befallen the human race, *&c.* " Laying aſide for a moment revealed truths, let us " ſearch through all nature, and we ſhall not find a " nobler object than the Antoninuſes, *&c.*"

In the thirteenth chapter: " The Pagan religion " indeed, that prohibited only ſome of the groſſer " crimes, that ſtopped the hand, but meddled not " with the heart, might have crimes that were in- " expiable: but a religion which bridles all the " paſſions; which is not more jealous of actions, " than of thoughts and deſires; which holds us not " by a few chains, but by an infinite number of " threads; which, laying human juſtice aſide, eſta- " bliſhes another kind of juſtice; which is ſo or- " dered as to lead us continually from repentance " to love, and from love to repentance; which " puts between the judge and the criminal a great " mediator; between the juſt and the mediator a " great judge: a religion like this ought not " to have crimes in themſelves inexpiable. But " though it gives fear and hope to all, it makes us " ſufficiently ſenſible, that there is no crime in its " own nature inexpiable, though a whole criminal " life may be ſo; that it is extremely dangerous to " affront mercy by new crimes and new expiations; " that an uneaſineſs on account of ancient debts, " from which we are never free, ought to make us " afraid of contracting new ones, of filling up the

" meaſure, and going to that point where paternal " goodneſs is limited."

In the concluſion of the nineteenth chapter, the Author, after having ſhewn an abuſe that has ariſen in ſeveral Pagan religions with reſpect to their opinion of the ſtate of ſouls in another life, ſays: " It is not " enough for religion to eſtabliſh a doctrine; it muſt " alſo direct its influence. This the Chriſtian religion " performs in the moſt admirable manner, particu- " larly with regard to the doctrines of which we have " been ſpeaking. It makes us hope for a ſtate that " is the object of our belief; not for a ſtate we have " already experienced or known. Thus every article, " even the reſurrection of the body, leads us to " ſpiritual ideas."

And at the concluſion of the twenty-ſixth chapter: " It follows from hence, that it is almoſt al- " ways proper for a religion to have particular " doctrines, and a general worſhip. In Laws con- " cerning the practice of religious worſhip, there " ought to be but few particulars: for inſtance, " they ſhould command mortification in general, " and not a certain kind of mortification. Chriſtia- " nity is full of good ſenſe: abſtinence is of divine " inſtitution; but a particular kind of abſtinence is " ordained by a political Law, and therefore may be " changed."

In the laſt chapter of the twenty-fifth book: " But it does not follow, that a religion brought " from a far diſtant country, and quite different " in climate, laws, manners, and cuſtoms, will " have all the ſucceſs to which its holineſs ought to " intitle it."

In the third chapter of the twenty-fourth book: " It is the Chriſtian religion that, in ſpite of the " empire and the influence of the climate, has hin-

" dered

" dered deſpotic power from being eſtabliſhed in " Æthiopia, and has carried into the midſt of Africa " the manners and Laws of Europe, *&c.* Not " far from thence may be ſeen the Mahometan ſhut- " ting up the children of the King of Sennao; at " whoſe death the council ſends to murder them, in " favour of the Prince who mounts the throne.

" Let us ſet before our eyes, on the one hand, " the continual maſſacres of the Kings and Gene- " rals of the Greeks and Romans; and, on the " other, the deſtruction of people and cities by the " commanders Thimur and Gengis-Kan, who ra- " vaged Aſia; and we ſhall ſee that we owe to " Chriſtianity, in government, a certain political " Law, and, in war, a certain Law of nations; " benefits which human nature can never ſufficiently " acknowledge." The reader is deſired to peruſe the whole chapter.

In the eighth chapter of the twenty-fourth book: " In a country ſo unfortunate as to have a religion " which God has not revealed, it is always neceſ- " ſary that it ſhould be agreeable to morality, be- " cauſe even a falſe religion is the beſt ſecurity we " can have of the probity of men."

Theſe paſſages are very explicit. We here ſee a writer, who not only believes the Chriſtian religion, but who loves it. What has the Critic ſaid to prove the contrary? Let it be once more obſerved, that the proofs ought to be proportionable to the accuſation: and as that accuſation is not of a frivo- lous nature, neither ought the proofs to be ſo. But as theſe proofs are always given in a pretty extraor- dinary form, they begin a mixture of half proof and half abuſe, and in a manner concealed in the train of a very vague diſcourſe, I am going to ſearch for them.

OBJECTION I.

The Author has praiſed the Stoics, who admitted a blind fatality, a neceſſary chain, &c*. This is the foundation of natural religion.

THE ANSWER.

Suppoſe for a moment that this falſe manner of reaſoning is juſt. Has the author praiſed the natural philoſophy and metaphyſics of the Stoics? He has praiſed their morals; he has ſaid, that the people obtained great advantages from them: he has ſaid this, and he has ſaid no more.—I am miſtaken; he has ſaid more: for, in the firſt page of the book, he has attacked the fatality of the Stoics: he did not then praiſe it, when he praiſed the Stoics.

OBJECTION II.

The Author has praiſed Bayle in calling him a great man †.

ANSWER.

I will here too ſuppoſe for a moment, that in general this manner of reaſoning is juſt: but, at leaſt, it is not ſo in this caſe. It is true, the Author has called Bayle a great man; but he has cenſured his opinions. If he has cenſured them, he does not admit them: and ſince he has attacked his opinions, he does not call him a great man on their account. Every body knows that Bayle had a great capacity; of which he has made an ill uſe: but that capacity

* The ſecond piece, of October 16, 1749, p. 165. † Ibid.

which

which he miſuſed, he had. The Author has, therefore, attacked his ſophiſms, and complained of his errors. I do not love the men who overthrow the laws of their country; but I ſhould find it difficult to believe, that Cæſar and Cromwell were men of mean capacities. I am not fond of conquerors; but it would not be an eaſy matter to perſuade me, that Alexander and Gengis-Kan were men of a common genius. It would not, indeed, have required any great abilities in the Author to have called Bayle an abominable man: but whether he owes this diſpoſition to nature, or whether it is an effect of his education, it appears that he is not fond of uſing abuſive language. I have reaſon to believe that, was he to take up the pen, he would not treat in that manner even thoſe who have endeavoured to do him one of the greateſt injuries that one man can do to another, by labouring to render him odious to all thoſe who do not know him, and ſuſpected by all who do.

Beſides, I have remarked, that the declamations of angry men make little impreſſion on thoſe who are not themſelves angry. Moſt readers are men of moderation, who ſeldom take a book but in cool blood. Reaſonable men love reaſon; and if the Author had uttered againſt Bayle a thouſand abuſive expreſſions, it would not have followed from thence, that Bayle had reaſoned either well, or ill: all that could have been concluded from it would have been, that the Author know how to be abuſive.

OBJECTION III.

Is drawn from the Author's not having treated, in his firſt chapter, of original ſin*.

* The piece of the 9th of October 1749, page 162.

ANSWER.

I aſk every ſenſible man, whether that chapter be a treatiſe on theology? Had the Author treated of original ſin, he might in the ſame manner have been charged with not having mentioned the redemption of mankind; and thus they might have proceeded, from article to article, to infinity.

OBJECTION IV.

Is drawn from the Author's having begun his work in a very different manner from Mr. Domat; who has firſt treated of revelation.

ANSWER.

It is true Mr. Domat has begun his work in a different manner from the Author, and has firſt treated of revelation.

OBJECTION V.

The Author has followed Pope's ſyſtem in his Eſſay on Man.

ANSWER.

Throughout the whole work he has not one word of Pope's ſyſtem.

OBJECTION VI.

The author ſays, That the law which preſcribes to Man his duty towards God, is the moſt important; but he denies that it is the firſt; he pretends, that the firſt Law of nature is peace; that men begin with being afraid of each other, &c. *But every child knows, that*

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the firſt Law is to love God; and that the ſecond is to love his neighbour.

ANSWER.

Theſe are the Author's words: "The Law "which, imprinting in our minds the idea of a "Creator, inclines us to him, is the firſt of the "natural laws in its importance, though not in its "order. Man, in a ſtate of nature, would have "the power of knowing before he had acquired "knowledge. It is evident that his firſt ideas "would be far from being of a ſpeculative nature; "he would think of the preſervation of his being "before he would inveſtigate its origin. Such a "man would at firſt feel nothing in himſelf but "impotency. His fears and apprehenſions would "be exceſſive; as appears from inſtances (were there "any neceſſity of proving it) of ſavages found in "foreſts, ever trembling, and flying from every "ſhadow*." The Author has then ſaid, that the Law, which imprinting in us the idea of a Creator, inclines us to him, is the firſt of the natural Laws. It is not unlawful for him, any more than for other philoſophers and writers on the Law of nature, to conſider man under various ſituations. He has therefore taken the liberty to ſuppoſe a man as if dropped from the clouds, left to himſelf, and without education, before the eſtabliſhment of ſociety. Well, the author has ſaid, that the firſt, the moſt important, and conſequently the capital Law of nature, would be for him, as well as for all other men, to be inclined towards his Creator. It is alſo allowable for the Author to enquire what would be the firſt impreſſion made on this man,

* Book i. chap. 2.

and to examine the order in which theſe impreſſions would be traced in his brain: And he has believed, that he would have ſenſations before he made reflections; that the firſt, in the order of time, would be fear; afterwards the want of food, *&c.* The Author has ſaid, that the law which, impreſſing on our minds the idea of a Creator, leads us to him, is the firſt of the natural Laws: the Critic ſays, that the firſt Law of nature is to love God: they are therefore only divided by abuſe.

OBJECTION VII.

Is drawn from the firſt chapter of the firſt book; where the Author having ſaid that man is a limited being, has added: "Such a being might every inſtant forget his Creator: God has therefore reminded him of his duty by the laws of religion." Now, ſays the Critic, What is the religion to which the Author here alludes? He doubtleſs ſpeaks of natural religion: he then only believes natural religion.

ANSWER.

Let us ſuppoſe again, that this manner of reaſoning is juſt; and that when the Author ſpeaks only of the religion of nature, we may conclude from thence that he only believes in that religion, and that he excludes all revealed religion: Yet, in this place I maintain, that he has ſpoken of revealed religion, and not of the religion of nature, for if he had meant the religion of nature, he muſt have been an idiot. It would have been as if he had ſaid: Such a being might eaſily forget his Creator, that is, the religion of nature; God has therefore reminded him of his duty by the Laws of natural

natural religion: ſo that God had given him the religion of nature, to perfect him in the religion of nature. Thus, to prepare himſelf for caſting invectives on the Author, he begins by taking from his words their moſt evident ſenſe, in order to give them the moſt evident abſurdity; and to obtain the advantage over him, he deprives him of common ſenſe.

OBJECTION VIII.

The Author ſpeaking of man, has ſaid: "Such "a being might every inſtant forget his Creator; "God has therefore reminded him of his duty by "the Laws of religion: ſuch a being is liable every "moment to forget himſelf; philoſophy has pro-"vided againſt this by the Laws of morality: formed "to live in ſociety, he might forget his fellow "creatures; legiſlators have therefore, by political "and civil Laws, confined him to his duty *." *Therefore*, ſays the Critic, *according to the Author, the government is divided between God, the philoſophers, and the legiſlators*, &c. *Where have the philoſophers learned the Laws of morality? Where have legiſlators ſeen what they ought to preſcribe, in order to govern ſocieties with equity* †?

ANSWER.

It is very eaſy to reply to this. They have taken it from revelation, if they have been ſo happy as to be favoured with it: otherwiſe, they have taken it from that Law which, impreſſing on our minds the idea of a Creator, leads us towards him. Has the Author of the Spirit of Laws ſaid with

* Book i. chap. 1. † The piece of the 9th of October 1749, p. 162.

Virgil,

Virgil, *Cæſar ſhares the empire with Jupiter?* Has not God, the governor of the univerſe, given to certain men greater intellectual abilities, and to others greater power? You would maintain that the Author has ſaid, that becauſe God has been pleaſed to ordain that men ſhould be governed by men, he is not willing that they ſhould obey him, and that he has diveſted himſelf of the authority he had over them, *&c.* To ſuch abſurdities are thoſe reduced, who are extremely weak at reaſoning, but have great ſtrength at declamation.

OBJECTION IX.

The Critic continues: *It is alſo obſervable that the Author, who finds that God cannot govern free beings as well as others, becauſe, being free, they are allowed the liberty of acting for themſelves,* (I ſhall obſerve by the way, that the Author does not make uſe of the expreſſion, God cannot) *remedies this diſorder no otherwiſe than by the Law, which ſhews men what they ought to do, but gives them not the power to do it. Thus, according to the Author's ſyſtem, God has created beings whoſe irregularities he can neither hinder nor repair. Blind mortal! who does not ſee that God does what he requires from them, and that they can do nothing but what he pleaſes.*

ANSWER.

The Critic had before reproached the Author with not having mentioned original ſin. He again returns to the charge, and cenſures him for not having ſpoken of grace. It is an unhappy thing to have to do with a man who cenſures all the articles of a book, and has only one predominant idea. He is not unlike the curate of the village, to whom ſome aſtronomers

aſtronomers ſhewing the moon through a teleſcope, he could ſee nothing but a ſteeple.

The Author of The Spirit of Laws thought he ought to begin with giving ſome idea of Laws in general, and of the Law of nature and nations. The ſubject was immenſe; and yet he has included it in two chapters: he was therefore obliged to omit a great number of things that belonged to his ſubject; and with much better reaſon has he omitted thoſe which had no relation to it.

OBJECTION X.

The Author has ſaid, that in England ſelf-murder is the effect of a diſeaſe, and that they can no more puniſh it than they can puniſh the effects of madneſs. A follower of the religion of nature cannot forget that England is the cradle of his ſect. He wipes a ſponge over all the crimes he perceives there.

ANSWER.

The Author does not know, that England is the cradle of the religion of nature. But he knows, that England is not his cradle, on account of his having mentioned a phyſical effect, which he himſelf obſerved in England. His ſentiments of religion are no more like thoſe of the Engliſh, than thoſe of an Engliſhman, who treats of the phyſical effects that have happened in France, are like thoſe of a Frenchman. The Author of The Spirit of Laws is not a follower of natural religion; but he would be glad to have his Critic a follower of natural logic.

I believe I have already made the terrible arms uſed by the Critic drop from his hand: and I am now going to give an idea of his exordium; which

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is ſuch, that I am afraid my mentioning it here will be thought to be done by way of deriſion.

He ſays at firſt, and theſe are his words: That *the book of the Spirit of Laws is one of thoſe irregular productions, that were never ſo numerous till after the arrival of the bull* Unigenitus. Is it not enough to make one laugh, to ſuppoſe that the arrival of The Spirit of Laws is cauſed by the arrival of the conſtitution *Unigenitus?* The bull *Unigenitus* is not the occaſional cauſe of the book of The Spirit of Laws; but the bull *Unigenitus*, and the book of The Spirit of Laws, have been the occaſional cauſes of the Critic's having made ſo ſhrewd a remark.

The Critic continues: *The Author ſays that he has often begun, and as often laid aſide his work. However, when he threw his firſt productions into the fire, he was leſs diſtant from the truth, than when he began to be ſatisfied with his labours.* How does he know that? He adds: *If the Author had been willing to follow a beaten path, his work would have coſt him leſs pains.* How again does he know that? He afterwards pronounces this oracle: *It does not require much penetration to perceive, that The Spirit of Laws is founded on the ſyſtem of natural religion. It has been ſhewn in the letters againſt Pope's Eſſay on Man, that the ſyſtem of natural religion is connected with that of Spinoſa: this is enough to inſpire a Chriſtian with horror at the new book of which we are here giving an account.*

I reply, that this is not only enough, but even too much. But I have juſt proved, that the Author's ſyſtem is not that of the religion of nature; and ſuppoſing that natural religion is connected with Spinoſa's ſyſtem, the Author's ſyſtem is not

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that of Spinoſa, ſince it is not that of the religion of nature.

He would then inſpire us with horror, before he has proved that we ought to be filled with horror.

Theſe are the two forms of reaſoning diffuſed through the two pieces I have undertaken to anſwer. The Author of The Spirit of Laws is a follower of natural religion: we muſt then explain what he ſays there by the principles of natural religion: therefore, if what he ſays there is founded on the principles of natural religion, he is a follower of natural religion.

The other form of reaſoning is this: The Author of the Spirit of Laws is a follower of the religion of nature: what he then ſays in his book in favour of revelation is only to conceal his being a follower of the religion of nature: therefore, if he thus conceals himſelf, he is a follower of the religion of nature.

Before I conclude this firſt part, I ſhall be tempted to make an objection to him that has made ſo many. He has ſo terrified our ears with the phraſe, follower of the religion of nature, that I, who defend the Author, ſcarcely dare to pronounce the word. I will however take courage. Do not theſe two pieces require more explication than that I defend? Does he do well, when he is treating of natural religion and revelation, to throw himſelf perpetually on one ſide, and to cauſe all traces of the other to be intirely loſt? Does he do well never to diſtinguiſh thoſe who acknowledge only the religion of nature, from thoſe who acknowledge both natural and revealed religion? Does he do well to be frightened whenever the Author conſiders man in a ſtate of nature, and when he explains any thing on the

the principles of natural religion? Does he do well to confound the religion of nature with atheiſm? Have I not always heard, that all of us have the religion of nature? Have I not heard, that Chriſtianity is the perfection of natural religion? Have I not heard, that people make uſe of arguments drawn from the religion of nature, in proof of a revelation, againſt the Deiſts; and that we employ the ſame natural religion, to prove the exiſtence of God againſt the atheiſts? He ſays that the Stoics were the followers of natural religion: and I, that they were atheiſts *; ſince they believed that the univerſe was governed by a blind fatality, and that, from natural religion, we ought to oppoſe the opinion of the Stoics. He ſays, that the ſyſtem of natural religion is connected with that of Spinoſa †: and I, that they are contradictory, and that it is by natural religion we overthrow Spinoſa's ſyſtem. I ſay, that to confound the religion of nature with atheiſm, is to confound the proof with the thing we would prove, and the objection againſt the error with the error itſelf; and that it is to deprive us of the powerful arms of which we are poſſeſſed againſt that error. God forbid that I ſhould impute any ill deſign to the Critic, or take advantage of the conſequences that might be drawn from his principles. Though

* See the piece of October 9, 1749, page 165, "The Stoics admitted the exiſtence of only one God: but this God was no other than the ſoul of the univerſe. They maintained, that all beings, up to the Firſt cauſe, were united together in the manner of a chain; a fatal neceſſity drew the whole. They denied the immortality of the ſoul, and made the ſovereign happineſs conſiſt in living conformably to nature. This is the foundation of the ſyſtem of natural religion.

† See the firſt piece of October 9, 1749, page 161, at the end of the firſt column.

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he has treated the Author with very little indulgence, I would ſhew ſome to him. I only ſay, that the metaphyſical ideas in his brain are very confuſed; that he has not the leaſt power of ſeparating them; that he is incapable of forming a good judgment, becauſe among the various things he might ſee, he never ſees but one. In this I have no deſign of making him reproaches, but merely of deſtroying thoſe he has made.

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DEFENCE

OF

THE SPIRIT OF LAWS.

PART II.

THE GENERAL IDEA.

I HAVE already cleared the Author of The Spirit of Laws from the two general reproaches that have been caſt upon him: but there are ſtill ſome particular imputations, to which it is neceſſary for me to reply. But to throw the greater light on what I have ſaid, and on what will be hereafter added, I ſhall explain what has given room, or ſerved as a pretence for making invectives.

Men of the beſt ſenſe in the ſeveral countries of Europe, men of the greateſt learning, and moſt diſtinguiſhed for their wiſdom, have conſidered The Spirit of Laws as an uſeful work: they have thought that the morals, in which it abounds, are pure; that the principles it contains are juſt, and that it is proper to form worthy members of ſociety; that the Author there deſtroys pernicious opinions, and encourages thoſe that are good.

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On the other hand, here is a man who treats it as a dangerous book, and makes it the ſubject of the moſt outrageous invectives. This requires ſome explications.

So far from having underſtood the particular paſſages on which he has ſpent his criticiſm, he has not even diſcovered what is the ſubject of which the Author treats. Thus vainly beating the air, and fighting againſt the wind, he has gained triumphs of the ſame kind: he has wrote a good criticiſm on the book he had in his head: but has not wrote a critique on that of the Author. But how was it poſſible for him thus to miſtake both the ſubject and deſign of a book placed before his eyes? Perſons of ſenſe ſee at the firſt glance, that the objects of this work are the Laws, the various cuſtoms, and manners, of all the nations on earth. It may be ſaid, that the ſubject is of prodigious extent, as it comprehends all the inſtitutions received among mankind: as theſe inſtitutions are diſtinguiſhed by the Author, who examines thoſe that are moſt agreeable to ſociety in general, and to each ſociety in particular; and as he ſearches into their origin, diſcovers their phyſical and moral cauſes; examines thoſe which have any intrinſic goodneſs, and thoſe that have none; of two pernicious practices, he enquires which is moſt, and which leaſt pernicious; and treats of thoſe that in ſome reſpects may have a good effect, and a bad one in others. He has imagined that theſe reſearches would be uſeful, becauſe judgment and good ſenſe conſiſt in knowing the ſhades of things.

Now in a ſubject of ſuch extent, it became neceſſary to treat of religion: for there being but one true religion, and an infinite number of others that are falſe; one religion ſent from heaven, and an infinity of others that had their birth on this globe;

he could regard the falſe religions only as human inſtitutions; and therefore was obliged to examine them, as well as all the other inſtitutions of human origin. But as to the Chriſtian religion, he had nothing to do but to pay it his adorations as being divine. He did not think himſelf obliged to treat of that religion: becauſe he conſidered it, as in its own nature not ſubject to his examination, ſo that when he has mentioned it, it has never been done to introduce it into the plan of his work, but only to pay it the tribute of reſpect and love due to it from all Chriſtians; and that in the compariſons he might draw between that religion and the others, he might make it triumph over them all. This is viſible throughout the whole work: but the Author has particularly explained himſelf at the beginning of book xxiv. the firſt of the two books that treat of religion. He begins thus: "As amidſt the ſe-
"veral degrees of darkneſs, we may form a judg-
"ment of thoſe which are the leaſt thick, and,
"among precipices, which are the leaſt deep; ſo
"we may ſearch among falſe religions for thoſe
"that are moſt conformable to the welfare of the
"ſociety; for thoſe which, though they have not
"the effect of leading men to the felicity of the
"other life, may contribute moſt to their happineſs
"in this.

"I ſhall therefore only examine the ſeveral reli-
"gions in the world, in relation to the good they
"produce in civil ſociety; whether I ſpeak of that
"which has its root in heaven, or of thoſe which
"ſpring from the earth."

The Author therefore, regarding human religions only as human inſtitutions, was in the right to treat of them, becauſe they neceſſarily entered into his plan. He did not go out of his way to ſeek for them;

them; but they came in ſearch of him. And as to the Chriſtian religion, he has only mentioned it occaſionally; becauſe, in its own nature, it could not be modified, mitigated, and corrected, and therefore did not enter into the plan he had propoſed.

What has he done then to give ſo full a ſcope to declamation, and to open ſo wide a door to invective? The Author has been conſidered as, if, after the example of M. Abbadie, he had reſolved to write a treatiſe on the Chriſtian religion; he has been attacked, as if his two books on religion were two treatiſes on Chriſtian divinity. He has been charged, as if ſpeaking of any religion whatſoever that had no relation to the Chriſtian, it had been his buſineſs to examine it according to the doctrines and precepts of Chriſtianity. He has been judged, as if he had undertaken, in his two books, to form an eſtabliſhment in behalf of the Chriſtians, and to preach the doctrines of Chriſtianity to Mahometans and Idolaters. Whenever he has mentioned religion in general, whenever he has uſed the word religion, it is ſaid, This is the Chriſtian religion. Whenever he has compared the religious rites of any nation whatſoever, and has ſaid, that ſome of theſe rites were more conformable to the political government of the country, than others; it is ſaid, You then approve them, and abandon the Chriſtian faith. When he has mentioned any people who have not embraced Chriſtianity, or who lived before the coming of Chriſt, it is ſaid, You then do not acknowledge the Chriſtian moral. When he has examined, in a political writer, any cuſtom whatſoever, it is ſaid, Was this the doctrine of Chriſtianity you ought to have inculcated? You ſay, that you are a Civilian; and I will make you

a Divine in ſpite of yourſelf. You in ſome places ſay ſome very fine things in favour of the Chriſtian religion; but you only ſay them to conceal yourſelf: for I know your heart, and read your thoughts. It is true, I do not underſtand your book; it is of no conſequence whether I have penetrated rightly, or not, into the view with which it was written: but I dive to the bottom of your thoughts. I do not know a word you ſay: but I underſtand very well what you think. Let us enter now into the ſubject.

OF THE COUNSELS OF RELIGION.

The Author, in the book on religion, has attacked the errors of Bayle. Theſe are his words*: "Mr. "Bayle, after having abuſed all religions, endeavours to ſully Chriſtianity. He boldly aſſerts, "that true Chriſtians cannot form a government "of any duration. Why not? Citizens of this "profeſſion, being infinitely enlightened with reſpect to the various duties of life, and having the "warmeſt zeal to fulfil them, muſt be perfectly "ſenſible of the rights of natural defence. The "more they believed themſelves indebted to religion, the more they would think due to their "country. The principles of Chriſtianity, deeply "engraven on the heart, would be infinitely more "powerful than the falſe honour of monarchies, "the humane virtues of republics, or the ſervile fear "of deſpotic ſtates.

"It is aſtoniſhing that this great man ſhould not "be able to diſtinguiſh between the orders for the "eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and Chriſtianity itſelf:

* Book xxiv. chap. 6.

" itſelf; and that he ſhould be liable to be charged " with not knowing the ſpirit of his own religion. " When the legiſlator inſtead of Laws gave coun- " ſels, it was becauſe he knew, that if thoſe " counſels were ordained as Laws, they would " be contrary to the ſpirit of the Laws them- " ſelves."

What has the Critic done to deprive the Author of the honour of having thus attacked one of Bayle's errors? He has taken the following chapter, which has nothing to do with Bayle *. " Human Laws " made to direct the will, it is there ſaid, ought " to give precepts, and not counſels: religion, " which is formed to influence the heart, ought " to give many counſels, and few precepts." Whence it is concluded that the Author conſiders all the precepts of the Goſpel only as counſels. He in return, might alſo ſay, that he who made this criticiſm conſiders all the counſels of the Goſpel as precepts: but this is not his manner of reaſoning, and ſtill leſs is it his manner of acting. Let us come to the point. It will here be proper to lengthen out a little what the Author has repreſented in a manner extremely conciſe. Mr. Bayle had maintained, that a ſociety of Chriſtians could not ſubſiſt; and alleged as the reaſon the order of the Goſpel, When thou art ſmote on one cheek, turn the other alſo; the command to leave the world to retire into deſerts, *&c.* The Author ſays, that Bayle took for precepts what were only counſels; for general rules what were only particular ones. In this the Author has defended religion. But what has this occaſioned? It is laid down as the

* That is, Book xxiv. Chap. 7.

firſt article of his creed, that all the books of the Goſpel contain only counſels.

OF POLYGAMY.

Other articles have likewiſe furniſhed commodious ſubjects of declamation. Polygamy afforded an excellent one. The Author has wrote a chapter expreſly upon it; in which he has cenſured it. It is as follows:

"Of Polygamy conſidered in itſelf.

"With regard to polygamy in general, independently of the circumſtances that may render it tolerated, it is not of the leaſt ſervice to mankind, nor to either of the two ſexes, whether it be that which abuſes, or that which is abuſed. Neither is it of ſervice to the children; for one of its greateſt inconveniences is, that the father and mother cannot have the ſame affection for their offſpring; a father cannot love twenty children with the ſame tenderneſs that a mother can love two. It is much worſe when a wife has many huſbands; for then paternal love is only held by this opinion, that a father may believe if he will, or that others may believe, that certain children belong to him.

"May I not ſay that a plurality of wives leads to that paſſion which nature diſallows? for one depravation always draws on another, *&c.*

"Beſides, the poſſeſſion of many wives does not always prevent their entertaining deſires for thoſe of others. It is with luſt as with avarice, where the thirſt is increaſed by the acquiſition of treaſures.

"In

" In the reign of Juſtinian, many philoſophers, " diſpleaſed with the reſtraints of Chriſtianity, re- " tired into Perſia. What there ſtruck them moſt, " ſays Agathias, was that polygamy was permitted " amongſt men who did not even abſtain from " adultery."

The Author has then maintained, that polygamy is in its own nature, and conſidered in itſelf, pernicious. It was neceſſary to overlook this chapter; and therefore no notice is taken of it. The Author has, beſides, made a philoſophical examination, in what country, in what climate, and in what circumſtances, its effects are leaſt pernicious; he compares climate with climate, and country with country; and has found thoſe where its effects are leſs prejudicial than in others: becauſe, according to the accounts that have been publiſhed, the number of men and women not being equal in all countries, it is evident that if there are places where the women are much more numerous than the men, polygamy, though bad in itſelf, is leſs ſo there than in other countries. The Author has diſcuſſed this point in the fourth chapter of the ſame book. But the title of this chapter conſiſting of theſe words, *That the Law of Polygamy is an affair that depends on calculations*, the Critic has ſeized hold of this title. However, as the title of a chapter relates to the chapter itſelf, and can ſay neither more nor leſs than the chapter, let us ſee it.

" According to the calculations made in ſeveral " parts of Europe, there are here born more boys " than girls: on the contrary, the accounts we have " of Aſia inform us, there are born in that part of " the world more girls than boys. The Law which " in Europe allows only one wife, and that in Aſia

" which permits many, have then a certain relation " to the climate.

" In the cold climates in Aſia there are born, as " in Europe, more males than females; and from " hence, ſay the Lamas, is derived the reaſon of " that Law which, amongſt them, permits a woman " to have many huſbands.

" But it is difficult for me to believe, that there " are many countries where the diſproportion can " be great enough for any exigency to juſtify the " introducing either the Law in favour of many " wives, or that of many huſbands. This would " only imply that a majority of women, or even " a majority of men, is more conformable to nature " in certain countries, that in others.

" I confeſs that, if what hiſtory tells us be true, " that at Bantam there are ten women to one man, " this muſt be a caſe particularly favourable to " polygamy.

" In all this I only give their reaſons, but do not " juſtify their cuſtoms."

Let us now return to the title: *Polygamy is an affair of calculation.* Yes, it is, when we would know if it be more or leſs pernicious in certain climates, in certain countries, and in certain circumſtances, than in others. It is not an affair of calculation, when we are to determine whether it be good or bad in itſelf.

It is not an affair of calculation, when we reaſon on its nature; it may be an affair of calculation, when we combine its effects. In ſhort, it is never an affair of calculation, when we examine the end of marriage; and it is much leſs ſo, when we conſider marriage as eſtabliſhed, or confirmed, by Jeſus Chriſt.

I ſhall

I ſhall here add, that what has happened by mere accident, is of great ſervice to the Author. He doubtleſs did not foreſee, that the Critic would overlook a whole chapter expreſſed in the plaineſt terms, in order to give an equivocal ſenſe to another; and yet he had the happineſs to conclude this other with theſe words: "In all this, I only give their reaſons; but do not juſtify their cuſtoms."

The Author had juſt ſaid, that he did not believe that there could be climates where the number of the women could ſo greatly exceed that of the men, or the number of the men that of the women, as to juſtify polygamy in any country; and has added, "This would only imply that a majority of women, or even of men, is more conformable to nature, in certain countries, than in others *." The Critic has ſeized the word, *is more conformable to nature* in order to charge the Author with approving polygamy. But if I ſay, that I had rather have a fever than the ſcurvy, Will that be a declaration that I am fond of a fever; or only that the ſcurvy is leſs diſagreeable to me than a fever?

Here follows, word for word, a very extraordinary objection.

The polygamy of one woman who has many huſbands, is a monſtrous diſorder, which was never permitted in any caſe, and which the Author does not at all diſtinguiſh from the polygamy of a man who has ſeveral wives †. *This language, from a ſectary of natural religion, needs no comment.*

I beg that attention may be paid to the connexion of the Critic's ideas. According to him it follows that, as the Author is a ſectary of the religion of

* Book xvi. chap. 4. † The piece of October 9, 1749, page 164.

nature,

nature, he did not mention what he had no buſineſs to mention; or that the Author has not mentioned what he had no buſineſs to mention, becauſe he is a a follower of natural religion. Theſe two methods of reaſoning are of the ſame kind, and the conſequences drawn from them are equally found in the premiſſes. The uſual manner is to criticiſe upon what a perſon writes; but here the criticiſm is beſtowed upon what he does not write.

I ſay this, ſuppoſing with the Critic that the Author has not diſtinguiſhed the polygamy of a woman who has ſeveral huſbands from that of a huſband who has ſeveral wives; but if the Author has diſtinguiſhed them, what will he ſay? And what will he ſay, if the Author has ſhewn, that the abuſe in the firſt caſe is much the greateſt? I deſire the reader to peruſe the ſixth chapter of book xvi. repeated above. The Critic has treated him with invectives for keeping ſilence with reſpect to this article; nothing remains but to make them for not keeping ſilence.

But here is what I cannot comprehend. The Critic ſays, in the ſecond of his pieces, page 166. *The Author has told us, that religion ought to permit polygamy in hot countries, and not in thoſe that are cold.* But the Author has no where ſaid this. This is a queſtion that does not turn upon the falſe reaſoning of the Critic againſt the Author, but on a matter of fact: and as the Author has never ſaid, that religion ought to permit polygamy in hot, and not in cold countries, the imputation is in its own nature both falſe and cruel; and therefore I deſire the Critic to paſs judgment on himſelf.

This is not the only paſſage of which the Author has had reaſon to complain: for, in page 163. of the firſt piece, the Critic ſays: *The fourth chapter has*

has for its title, That the Law of polygamy is an affair of calculation: that is, in places where there are born more boys than girls, as in Europe, we ought to have but one wife; and in thoſe where there are born more girls than boys, polygamy ought to be introduced. Thus when the Author explains cuſtoms, or gives the reaſons of their being founded, thoſe reaſons are turned into maxims, and, what is more barbarous ſtill, into maxims of religion: and as he has mentioned an infinite number of cuſtoms and practices, throughout all the countries upon earth, he may, by a parity of reaſon, be charged with all the errors, and even all the abominations of the univerſe. The Critic ſays, at the end of his firſt piece, that God has given him ſome zeal; to which I reply, that God has not given him this.

ON CLIMATE.

What the Author has ſaid on the effects of different Climates is alſo another excellent topic of rhetoric. But all effects whatſoever have their cauſes: the climate and the other phyſical cauſes produce an infinite number of effects; and if the Author had ſaid otherwiſe, he would have been conſidered as extremely ſtupid. The queſtion is reduced to this: Whether, in countries placed at a great diſtance from each other, or whether in different climates, there are the marks of a national ſpirit. Now that there are ſuch differences, is eſtabliſhed by almoſt the univerſal conſent of writers. As the impreſſions of this national ſpirit have a conſiderable influence on the diſpoſitions of the heart, it cannot be at all queſtioned that certain diſpoſitions of heart are more frequent in one country than another; and in proof of this, we have alſo the teſtimony of an infinite

infinite number of writers in all times and places. As theſe things are merely human, the Author has treated them in that light. He might indeed have added to them many queſtions debated in the ſchools, with reſpect to the humane and chriſtian virtues; but it is not uſual to croud theſe queſtions into books of natural philoſophy, politics, and civil law. In a word, the climate may be the phyſical cauſe of producing various diſpoſitions of mind; theſe diſpoſitions may have an influence on human actions: but how does this give a ſhock to the throne of him who has created, or to the merits of him who has bought us?

If the Author has inquired what the magiſtrates of various countries might do, in order to conduct their ſeveral nations in a manner moſt proper, and moſt ſuitable to their reſpective characters, what harm has he done in this?

One may alſo reaſon on the local cuſtoms of religion. The Author had no buſineſs to conſider them as either good or bad: he has only ſaid, that there are climates where certain religious cuſtoms were more eaſily received, that is, the people in thoſe climates were more eaſily accuſtomed to them, than the people in others. Of this it would be unneceſſary to give examples; there are an hundred thouſand.

I am very ſenſible, that religion is, in its own nature, independent of any phyſical effects whatſoever: that what is good in one country is good in another: and that it cannot be bad in one country, without being bad in all. But as it is practiſed by men, and for men, there are places where a particular religion is more eaſily practiſed, either in part or in the whole, in one certain country than in others, and in certain circumſtances than in others. And

who-

whoever aſſerts the contrary muſt diveſt himſelf of common ſenſe.

The Author has remarked, that the climate of the Indies has produced there a certain ſweetneſs of manners. But, ſays the Critic, *The women there burn themſelves at the death of their huſbands*. There is but little philoſophy in this objection. Is the Critic ignorant of the contradictions of the human mind, and how readily it can ſeparate things the moſt cloſely united, and unite thoſe that are the moſt widely ſeparated. See the Author's reflections on this ſubject in book xiv. chap. 3.

OF TOLERATION.

All the Author has ſaid on toleration relates to this propoſition in book xxv. chap. 9. "We are "here politicians, and not divines: but the divines "themſelves muſt allow, that there is a great dif- "ference between tolerating, and approving a re- "ligion.

"When legiſlators have believed it their duty to "permit the exerciſe of many religions, they are "alſo under the obligation of inforcing a toleration "amongſt theſe religions themſelves." The reader is deſired to peruſe the whole chapter.

A great outcry has been raiſed againſt the Author for having added in the next chapter: "This is "then a fundamental principle of the political Laws "of religion, That when a ſtate is at liberty to re- "ceive or reject a new religion, it ought to be reject- "ed; when it is received, it ought to be tolerated."

It is here objected to the Author, that he is going to inform idolatrous Princes, that they ought to ſhut Chriſtianity out of their ſtates. Really it is a ſecret that it was ever whiſpered to the King of Cochin-China.

China. As this argument has furniſhed matter for much declamation, I ſhall give two anſwers. The firſt is, That the Author has excepted it by name in his book on religion. He has ſaid in book xxiv. chap. 1. "The Chriſtian religion, which ordains "that men ſhould love each other, would doubtleſs "have every nation bleſt with the beſt civil, the "beſt political Laws; becauſe theſe, next to this "religion, are the greateſt good that men can give "and receive." If then the Chriſtian religion is the firſt and principal good, and political and civil Laws the ſecond, there are no political or civil Laws in a ſtate that can or ought to hinder the entrance of the Chriſtian religion.

My ſecond anſwer is, That the religion ſent from heaven is not eſtabliſhed by the ſame methods as the religions of the earth. Read the hiſtory of the church, and you will ſee the wonders of the Chriſtian religion. Has ſhe reſolved to enter a country?—ſhe knows how to open its gates, and all inſtruments are proper for that purpoſe: ſometimes God makes uſe of a few fiſhermen; at others, he places an Emperor on the throne, and makes him bend his neck under the yoke of the goſpel. Is Chriſtianity concealed in caverns, and ſubterraneous abodes? ſtay a moment, and you will ſee the Imperial Majeſty ſpeak in her behalf. She, whenever ſhe pleaſes, croſſes the ſeas, rivers, and mountains; and no obſtacles here below can ſtop her progreſs. Place repugnance in the mind; ſhe will make it fly before her: eſtabliſh cuſtoms, form habits, publiſh edicts, make Laws; ſhe will triumph over the climate, the laws that reſult from it, and the legiſlators who made them. God, according to decrees concealed from us, extends or contracts the limits of his religion as he pleaſes.

We

We are told: That this is as if you went to the Kings of the Eaſt, and told them they ought not to receive the Chriſtian religion among them. How carnal is it to talk in this manner! Is the Meſſiah a man like Herod? It ſeems as if Jeſus Chriſt was conſidered as a King who conceals his ſtratagems and intelligences. Let us do ourſelves juſtice: Is the manner in which we conduct ourſelves in human affairs ſo pure, as to allow us to think of employing it in the converſion of nations?

OF CELIBACY.

We now come to the article of celibacy. All that the Author has ſaid of it relates to this propoſition, which is found in book xxv. chap. 4. I "ſhall not here treat of the conſequences of the "Law of celibacy: it is evident it may become "hurtful, in proportion as the body of the clergy "may be too numerous; and, in conſequence of "this, that of the laity too ſmall." It is evident, that the Author here ſpeaks only of the greater or leſs extenſion that ought to be allowed to celibacy, with reſpect to the greater or leſs number of thoſe who embrace it: and, as the Author ſays in another place, that Law of perfection cannot be made for all mankind. Beſides, we know, that the Law of celibacy, as it now ſubſiſts, is only a law of diſcipline. The Spirit of Laws has no where conſidered the nature of celibacy, or the degree of its goodneſs; and that is not a ſubject that ought to enter at all into a book of political and civil Laws. The Critic, however, would never allow the Author to treat his own ſubject: he is continually for having him treat of his; and becauſe he is always a divine, he will not

not ſuffer him, even in a book of Laws, to be a civilian. However we ſhall ſoon ſee that, with reſpect to celibacy, he is of the ſame opinion as the divines; that is, that he acknowledges its goodneſs. It muſt be obſerved, that in book xxiii. where he treats of Laws in relation to the number of inhabitants, the Author has given a theory of what the political and civil Laws of different people have done in this reſpect. He has ſhewn, by examining the hiſtories of the ſeveral nations of the earth, that there have been particular circumſtances in which theſe Laws were more neceſſary, than others, people who had more need of them, and certain times when theſe people had ſtill more need of them: and, as it is thought that the Romans were the wiſeſt people upon earth, and that they had more need of theſe Laws to repair their loſſes, he has collected with great exactneſs the Laws they made for that purpoſe; he has pointed out, with great preciſion, in what circumſtances they were made, and in what other circumſtances they were taken away. There is no divinity in all this; and there is no need of any. The Author has however thought proper to add a little. Theſe are his words: "God for-
"bid that I ſhould here ſpeak againſt celibacy, as
"adopted by religion: but who can be ſilent,
"when this is built on libertiniſm; when the two
"ſexes corrupting each other even by the natural
"ſenſations themſelves, fly from an union which
"ought to render them better to live in that which
"always renders them worſe.

"It is a rule drawn from nature, that the more
"the number of marriages is diminiſhed, the more
"corrupt thoſe are rendered that are entered into
"that ſtate. The fewer married people there are,

"the

" the leſs fidelity is there in marriage; as, when " there are more thieves, there are more thefts *."

The Author has not then diſapproved the celibacy practiſed, on a religious motive; and no complaint can be raiſed againſt him for cenſuring the celibacy introduced by libertiniſm. He is offended, that a prodigious number of rich and voluptuous men fly the yoke of marriage, that they may the more conveniently purſue the gratification of their licentious appetites. They give themſelves up to delight and voluptuous pleaſure, and leave trouble and care to the miſerable. We cannot, I ſay, complain that he has cenſured theſe. But the Critic, after having cited what the Author has ſaid, pronounces theſe words: *We here perceive the malignity of the Author, who would throw upon the Chriſtian religion the diſorders it deteſts*. It might look ill-natured, were I to accuſe the Critic of not being willing to underſtand the Author: I ſhall therefore only ſay, that he has not underſtood him; and that he has made him ſay againſt religion, what he ſaid againſt libertiniſm. He ought to be very ſorry for it.

A PARTICULAR ERROR COMMITTED BY THE CRITIC.

One would be ready to believe, that the Critic has ſworn never to form a right judgment of the ſtate of the queſtion, and never to underſtand a ſingle paſſage he attacks. The whole ſecond chapter of the twenty-fifth book turns upon the motives, more or leſs powerful, by which mankind are attached to the preſervation of their religion. Here the Critic finds another chapter which contains the motives that oblige men to change their religion.

* Book xiii. chap. 21.

The firſt ſubject implies a paſſive ſtate; the ſecond a ſtate of action: but applying to one ſubject what the Author has ſaid on the other, he indulges himſelf in falſe reaſoning intirely at his eaſe.

The Author has ſaid, in the ſecond chapter of the twenty-fifth book, "We are extremely addicted "to idolatry; and yet have no great inclination to "the religion of idolaters. We are not very fond "of ſpiritual ideas; and yet are moſt attached "to thoſe religions that teach us to adore a ſpiritual "being. This proceeds from the ſatisfaction we "find in ourſelves at having been ſo intelligent as to "chuſe a religion that raiſes the Deity from that "baſeneſs in which he had been placed by others." The Author had certainly no other motive, than to explain why the Jews and Mahometans are as invincibly attached to their religion as we are ourſelves, though they have not the advantages with which we are poſſeſſed: and that they are, we know from experience: but the Critic underſtands it otherwiſe: *Mens paſſing from idolatry to the belief of one God is here, ſays he, attributed to pride* *. But no mention is made, either here, or through the whole chapter, of paſſing from one religion to another: and if a Chriſtian feels a high ſatisfaction, ariſing from the idea of the glory and grandeur of the Divine Majeſty, and this is what he calls pride, it is a very good pride.

OF MARRIAGE.

Here is another uncommon objection. The Author has two chapters in the twenty-third book; one intitled "Of Men and Animals with reſpect "to the Propagation of their Species;" and the

* The ſecond piece, p. 166.

other,

other, "Of Marriage." In the firſt he has theſe words: "The females of brutes have an almoſt "conſtant fecundity; but, in the human ſpecies, "the manner of thinking, the character, the paſ-"ſions, the humour, the caprice, the idea of pre-"ſerving beauty, the pain of child-bearing, and "the fatigue of a too-numerous family, obſtruct "propagation a thouſand different ways." And in the other he ſays, "The natural obligation of the "father to provide for his children has eſtabliſhed "marriage; which makes known the perſon who "ought to fulfil this obligation."

Upon this the Critic ſays, *A Chriſtian would refer the inſtitution of marriage to God himſelf, who gave a companion to Adam, and united the firſt man to the firſt woman by an indiſſoluble bond, before they had children to provide for: but the Author avoids whatever is mentioned in the Holy Scriptures.* He might reply, that he is a Chriſtian; but not a natural: that he venerates theſe truths; but did not chuſe to inſert at random, and without propriety, all the truths that are the objects of his faith. The Emperor Juſtinian was a Chriſtian, as was alſo his compilator: yet in their books of Laws, which are ſtill taught to youth in the ſchools, they define marriage, the union of one man and woman, who form a ſociety of individual life*. It never entered into the head of any perſon, to reproach them for not having here mentioned revelation.

OF USURY.

We are now come to the ſubject of uſury. I am afraid the reader will be tired with hearing me repeat, that the Critic never underſtands the point

* Maris & fœminæ conjunctio, individuam vitæ ſocietatem continens.

in queſtion, and never takes the ſenſe of the paſſages he cenſures. He ſays, that *here the Author finds nothing unjuſt in maritime uſury: theſe are his words.* Indeed The Spirit of Laws has a very ſad interpreter. The Author has treated of maritime uſury in the twentieth chapter of the twenty-ſecond book: he muſt therefore have ſaid in that chapter, that maritime uſury is juſt. Let us ſee what he ſays.

"OF MARITIME USURY.

"The greatneſs of maritime uſury is founded on "two things: the danger of the ſea, which makes "it proper that thoſe who expoſe their ſpecie, "ſhould not do it without conſiderable advantage; "and the eaſe with which the borrower, by the "means of commerce, ſpeedily accompliſhes a va-"riety of great affairs. But uſury, with reſpect to "landſmen, being founded on neither of theſe "two reaſons, is either prohibited by the legiſla-"tors, or, what is more rational, reduced to pro-"per bounds."

I aſk every ſenſible man, whether the Author has here determined that maritime uſury is juſt; or whether he has ſimply ſaid, that the greatneſs of maritime uſury is leſs repugnant to natural equity, than the greatneſs of uſury at land. The Critic is acquainted with none but poſitive and abſolute qualities, and does not know the meaning of thoſe terms, *more* or *leſs*. If one was to tell him that a mulatto woman was not ſo black as a negro, this would ſignify, according to him, that ſhe is as white as ſnow: if one was to tell him that ſhe was blacker than an European, he would then think ſhe was as black as a coal. But to proceed.

In

In the twenty-ſecond book of The Spirit of Laws there are four chapters on uſury. In the two firſt, which are the nineteenth and that the reader has juſt peruſed, the Author examines uſury * in the relation it bears to the commerce of different nations, and the ſeveral governments of the world; and to this theſe two chapters ſolely relate. The two following only explain the variations of uſury among the Romans. But here the Author is ſuddenly raiſed to be a caſuiſt, a canoniſt, and divine; for no other reaſon but becauſe the Critic is a caſuiſt, a canoniſt, and divine, or that he is two of the three, or one of the three, or, perhaps at bottom, none of the three. The Author is ſenſible, that the conſideration of lending an intereſt, as connected with Chriſtianity, is a ſubject attended with endleſs diſtinctions and limitations. He is ſenſible that the civilians, and a multitude of courts of juſtice, do not always agree with the caſuiſts and canoniſts; that ſome of theſe admit certain limitations of the general principle of never aſking intereſt, and others admit ſtill greater. Though all theſe queſtions had belonged to his ſubject, which they do not, how would he have been able to have treated of them? We find it difficult to know thoroughly what we have well ſtudied; but much more difficult is it to know what we have never ſtudied at all. However, thoſe very chapters that are employed againſt him, ſufficiently prove, that he is only an hiſtorian and civilian. Let us read chap. 19 †.

" Specie is the ſign of value. It is evident, that " he who has occaſion for this ſign ought to pay for " the uſe of it, as well as for every thing elſe that he " has occaſion for. All the difference is, that other

* Uſury and intereſt among the Romans ſignified the ſame thing.
† Book xxii.

" things may be either hired or bought; whilſt " money, which is the price of things, can only be " hired, and not bought.

" To lend money without intereſt, is certainly " an action laudable and extremely good; but this " is perhaps only a counſel of religion, and not a " civil law.

" In order that trade may be ſucceſsfully carried " on, it is neceſſary that a price be fixed on the uſe " of ſpecie; but this price ſhould be very incon- " ſiderable. If it be too high, the merchant, who " finds that it will coſt him more in intereſt than he " can gain by commerce, will undertake nothing. " If there is no conſideration to be paid for the " uſe of ſpecie, no body will lend it; and here " too the merchant will undertake nothing.

" I am miſtaken when I ſay that no body will " lend; the affairs of ſociety muſt ever make it ne- " ceſſary. Uſury will be eſtabliſhed, but with all " the diſorders with which it has been conſtantly " attended.

" The Laws of Mahomet confound uſury with " lending upon intereſt. Uſury increaſes in Ma- " hometan countries, in proportion to the ſeverity " of the prohibition. The lender indemnifies him- " ſelf for the danger he undergoes of ſuffering the " penalty.

" In thoſe eaſtern countries the greateſt part of " the people are ſecure of nothing. There is hardly " any connection between the actual poſſeſſion of " a ſum, and the hope of receiving it again after " having lent it. Uſury then muſt be raiſed in pro- " portion to the danger of inſolvency."

Afterwards comes the chapter on maritime uſury mentioned above; and the twenty-firſt chapter, which

which treats of lending by contract, and of uſury amongſt the Romans, which is as follows:

" Beſides the loans made for the advantage of " commerce, there is ſtill a kind of lending by " a civil contract, from whence reſults intereſt or " uſury.

" As the people of Rome daily increaſed in " power, the magiſtrates ſought to inſinuate them- " ſelves into their favour by enacting ſuch Laws as " were moſt agreeable to them. They retrenched " capitals; firſt lowered, and at length prohibited " intereſt; and took away the power of confining " the debtor's body. In fine, the abolition of debts " was contended for, whenever a tribune was diſ- " poſed to render himſelf popular.

" Theſe continual changes, whether made by " the Laws, or by the *plebiſcita*, naturalized uſury " at Rome: for the creditors ſeeing the people " their debtor, their legiſlator, and their judge, " had no longer any confidence in agreements with " them. The people, like a debtor who has loſt " his credit, could only tempt them to lend by al- " lowing an exorbitant intereſt; for if the Laws " did not from time to time remedy the evil, the " complaints of the people became continual, and " conſtantly intimidated the creditors. This was " the cauſe that all honeſt means of borrowing and " lending were aboliſhed at Rome, and that the " moſt monſtrous uſury, conſtantly blaſted by the " thunders of the ſtate, and conſtantly revived, be- " came eſtabliſhed in that city.

" Cicero tells us, that in his time intereſt at " Rome was at thirty-four *per cent.* and in the pro- " vinces at forty-eight. This evil was a conſe- " quence of the ſeverity of the Laws againſt uſury. " Laws exceſſively good are the ſource of exceſſive

" evil. The borrower found himſelf under the ne-
" ceſſity of paying for the intereſt of the money,
" and for the danger the creditor underwent of
" ſuffering the penalty of the Law."

The Author has then treated of intereſt only in relation to the commerce of various nations, and to the civil Laws of the Romans; and this is ſo true, that he has diſtinguiſhed, in the ſecond paragraph of the nineteenth chapter, the eſtabliſhments of the religious, from thoſe of the political legiſlators. Had he mentioned by name the Chriſtian religion, he would have treated the ſubject in other terms, and have pointed out what that religion ordains, and what it counſels; he would, with the divines, have diſtinguiſhed, the ſeveral caſes; he would have laid down all the limitations ſet by the Chriſtian religion to that general Law, ſometimes eſtabliſhed among the Romans, and always among the Mahometans, That we ought, in no caſe, and in no circumſtance, to receive intereſt for money. The Author had not this ſubject to treat of; but that a general, unlimited, indiſtinct defence of it, without any reſtrictions, made the Mahometans loſe their commerce, and was near deſtroying the Roman republic: whence it follows, that the Chriſtians, on account of their not living under theſe rigid Laws, ſtill enjoy their commerce, and there is not found in their ſtates that monſtrous uſury required by the Mahometans, and that was formerly extorted by the Romans.

The Author has employed the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond chapters * in examining what were the Laws of the Romans on the ſubject of lending by contracts, in the different times of their republic.

* Book xxii.

But

But here his Critic quits for a moment the banks of theology, to turn to the ſide of erudition. But we ſhall ſoon ſee, that he is alſo deceived in his erudition, and that he cannot even for once underſtand the ſtate of the queſtion he endeavours to examine. Let us read a paſſage in the twenty-ſecond chapter *.

" Tacitus ſays, that the Law of the Twelve Ta-
" bles fixed the intereſt at one *per cent. per annum.*
" It is evident that he was miſtaken, and that he
" took another Law, of which I am going to ſpeak,
" for the Law of the Twelve Tables. If this had
" been regulated in the Law of the Twelve Tables,
" why did they not make uſe of its authority in the
" diſputes which afterwards aroſe between the credi-
" tors and debtors? We find not any veſtige of this
" Law upon lending at intereſt; and, let us have but
" ever ſo little knowledge of the hiſtory of Rome,
" we ſhall ſee that a Law like this could never be the
" work of the Decemvirs." And a little after the Author adds: " In the year of Rome 398, the
" Tribunes Duellius and Menenius cauſed a Law to
" be paſſed, which reduced intereſt to one *per cent.*
" *per annum.* It is this Law which Tacitus con-
" founds with the Law of the Twelve Tables; and
" this was the firſt ever made by the Romans to fix
" the rate of intereſt," *&c.*

Here the Author ſays, that Tacitus is miſtaken in ſaying that the Law of the Twelve Tables had fixed the rate of intereſt among the Romans. He has ſaid, that Tacitus has taken for the Law of the Twelve Tables, a Law made by Duellius and Menenius about eighty-five years after the Law of the Twelve Tables; and that this Law was the firſt that

* Book xxii.

fixed

fixed the rate of intereſt at Rome. What does the Critic ſay to this? He replies, that Tacitus was not miſtaken, but ſpoke of uſury at one *per cent. per menſem*, and not of uſury at one *per cent. per annum*. But the queſtion is not here of the rate of uſury; it is to know, whether the Law of the Twelve Tables has made any regulation whatſoever in relation to uſury. The Author ſays, that Tacitus is miſtaken in ſaying that the Decemvirs had made a regulation in the Law of the Twelve Tables, to fix the rate of uſury; and upon this the Critic ſays, he was not miſtaken, becauſe he ſpoke of uſury at one *per cent.* by the month, and not at one *per cent.* for a year. I had reaſon then for ſaying that the Critic did not know the ſtate of the queſtion.

It now remains to inquire, whether the Law mentioned by Tacitus, whatever it is, fixes uſury, according to the Author, at one *per cent.* by the year, or, according to the Critic, at one *per cent.* for the month. Prudence required that he ſhould not enter into a diſpute with the Author on the Roman Laws, without knowing them; that he ſhould not deny a fact with which he was unacquainted, and of which he was ignorant of the means of obtaining information. The queſtion is, what Tacitus meant by theſe words, *unciarium fœnus* *. He needed but to have opened the dictionaries, and he would have found in that of Calvinus or Kahl †, that it was one

* Nam primò duodecim tabulis ſanctum, ne quis unciario fœnore ampliùs exerceret. *Annal. lib.* vi.

† Uſurarum ſpecies ex aſſis partibus denominantur: quod ut intelligatur, illud ſcire oportet, ſortem omnem ad centenarium numerum revocari; ſummam autem uſuram eſſe, cum pars ſortis centeſima ſingulis menſibus perſolvitur. Et quoniam iſtâ ratione ſumma hæc uſura duodecim aureos annuos in centenos efficit, duodenarius numerus juriſcon-

per cent. by the year, and not by the month. Had he conſulted the learned Salmaſius, he would have told him the ſame thing ‡.

Teſtis mearum centimanus Gyas
Sententiarum. HOR.

Had he aſcended to the ſource he would have found clear texts on this ſubject in books of Law ‖: he would not have blended different ideas: he would have diſtinguiſhed the times and occaſions when the *unciarium fœnus* ſignified one *per cent.* by the month, from thoſe when it ſignified one *per cent.* by the year; and he would not have taken the twelfth of the hundredth part for the hundredth part itſelf.

While the Romans had no laws that fixed the rate of uſury, the moſt common cuſtom was for the uſurer to take twelve ounces of copper for the loan of an hundred ounces; that is, twelve *per cent. per annum:* and an *as* being the value of twelve ounces of copper, the uſurer received annually an *as* for an hundred ounces. It being frequently neceſſary to reckon uſury by the month, the intereſt for ſix months was called *ſemis*, or the half of the *as*; the uſury for four months was named *triens*,

riſconſultos movit, ut aſſem hunc uſurarium appellarent. Quemadmodùm hic as non ex menſtruâ, ſed ex annuâ penſione æſtimandus eſt; ſimiliter omnes ejus partes ex anni ratione intelligendæ ſunt: ut ſi unus in centenos annuatim pendatur, unciaria uſura; ſi bini, ſextans; ſi terni, quadrans; ſi quaterni, triens; ſi quinti, quincunx; ſi ſeni, ſemis; ſi ſepteni, ſeptunx; ſi octoni, bes; ſi novem, dodrans; ſi deni, dextrans; ſi undeni, deunx; ſi duodeni, as. *Lexicon J. Calvini. Colonia Allobrogum, anno* 1622, *apud Petrum Balduinum, in verbo Uſura, p.* 960.

‡ *De modo uſurarum, Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriorum, anno* 1639. *p.* 269, 270, *&* 271; particularly theſe words, Undè verius ſit unciarium fœnus eorum, vel uncias uſuras, ut eas quoque appellatas infrà oſtendam, non unciam dare menſtruam in centum, ſed annum.

‖ *Argumentum legis* xlvii. §. *Præfectus legionis ff. de adminiſtratione & periculo tutoris.*

or

or the third of the *as*; the uſury for three months was called *quadrans*, or the fourth of the *as*; and, in ſhort, the uſury for one month was called *unciaria*, or the twelfth of the *as*: ſo that as they raiſed an ounce every month on every hundred ounces lent, this uſury by the ounce, or one *per cent. per menſem*, was called centeſimal uſury. The Critic had acquired the knowledge of this ſignification of the centeſimal uſury, but has applied it very ill.

We ſee, that all this was nothing more than a method or form of regulating the accounts between debtor and creditor in relation to uſury, on a ſuppoſition that it was at twelve *per cent. per annum*, which was the common and uſual rate; but if a perſon borrowed at eighteen *per cent. per annum*, they made uſe of the ſame method, only increaſing one third of the intereſt for each month; ſo that the *unciarium fœnus* was then an ounce and a half *per* month.

When the Romans made Laws on uſury, they did not concern themſelves about this method, which had been uſed, and was ſo ſtill, between the debtors and creditors, for the diviſion of the time, and the convenience of paying their intereſt. The legiſlator had a public regulation to make; the buſineſs here was not to divide uſury by the month, but to fix it; and this was done by the year. They, however, continued to make uſe of the terms derived from the diviſion of the *as*, without applying the ſame ideas to them. Thus the *unciarium fœnus* ſignified one *per cent. per annum*; the uſury *ex quadrante* ſignified three *per cent. per annum*; the uſury *ex triente*, four *per cent. per annum*; the uſury *ſemis*, ſix *per cent. per annum*. And if the uſury *unciaria* had ſignified one *per cent. per menſem*, the Law which fixed the *ex quadrante*, *ex triente*, *ex ſemiſſe*, would have

have eſtabliſhed uſury at three *per cent.* at four *per cent.* at ſix *per cent.* by the month; which would have been abſurd, becauſe the Laws made to ſuppreſs uſury would have been more cruel than the uſurers.

The Critic has then confounded the ſpecies of things. But I ought here to give his very words, in order that the reader may be fully convinced, that the confidence with which he writes ought not to impoſe on any one. *Tacitus*, ſays he *, *is not miſtaken; he ſpeaks of intereſt at one* per cent. *by the month, and the Author has imagined that he ſpeaks of one* per cent. per annum. *Every body knows, that the hundredth part was paid to the uſurer every month. Ought a man, who has written two quarto volumes on the laws, to be ignorant of this?*

Whether this man was, or was not ignorant of the *centeſimal*, is of no conſequence: but he was not ignorant of it, ſince he has mentioned it in three places. But how has he mentioned it, and where has he ſpoken of it †? I may defy the Critic to gueſs, as he cannot find the words and expreſſions he is acquainted with.

The queſtion here is not, whether the Author is, or is not a man of learning, but to defend his altars ‡. However, it was neceſſary to ſhew the public, that the Critic has aſſumed ſo deciſive a tone on things about which he was intirely ignorant, and had ſo little doubt that he did not even open a dictionary to confirm his opinion; that, tho' ignorant himſelf, he accuſes others of not having his own errors, and therefore can no longer merit the leaſt confidence with reſpect to his other accuſations. Would not

* The piece of the 9th of October, 1749, p. 164.

† The third and laſt note of Book xxii. chap. 22. and the laſt of the third note.

‡ Pro aris.

not one have been apt to believe, that the haughty and inſolent manner he aſſumes muſt have proceeded from his never being in the wrong? that when he chafes and bluſters, this is a proof of his not being in an error? that when he anathematizes the Author with his phraſes of impious mortal, and follower of natural religion, we may ſtill believe that he is not miſtaken? Who would have thought that it is neceſſary to keep a guard over ourſelves, to prevent our receiving thoſe impreſſions that put his ſpirits in motion, and give impetuoſity to his ſtyle? that in his two pieces it is highly proper to ſeparate his reaſons from his abuſe, and that afterwards ſetting aſide thoſe reaſons that are bad, nothing will remain.

The Author, in the chapters on lending at intereſt, and of uſury among the Romans; a ſubject doubtleſs the moſt important in their hiſtory, ſince it is ſo cloſely connected with the conſtitution of Rome, that a thouſand times it was near ſubverting it; after treating of the Laws they made from deſpair; of thoſe dictated by prudence; of ſuch regulations as were only temporary; and of thoſe that were deſigned to laſt for ever, ſays at the end of the twenty-ſecond chapter, "In the year of Rome 398, "the tribunes Duellius and Menenius cauſed a Law "to be paſſed, which reduced intereſt to one *per* "*cent. per annum.*—Ten years after this uſury was "reduced one half, and in the end it was intirely "aboliſhed.

"It fared with this Law as with all thoſe in "which the legiſlator carries things to exceſs; an "infinite number of ways were found to elude it. "They enacted, therefore, many others to confirm, "correct, and temper it. Sometimes they quitted "the Laws, to follow the common practice; at others,

" others, the common practice to follow the Laws; " but in this caſe cuſtom eaſily prevailed. When a " man wanted to borrow, he found an obſtacle in " the very Law made in his favour; this Law muſt " be evaded by the perſon it was made to ſuc- " cour, and by him it was made to condemn. " Sempronius Aſellus the Prætor, having permitted " the debtors to act in conformity to the Laws, " was ſlain by the creditors, for attempting to revive " the memory of a ſeverity that could no longer be " ſupported.

" Under Sylla, Lucius Valerius Flaccus made a " Law which ſuffered intereſt to be at three *per* " *cent. per annum.* This Law, the moſt moderate, " the moſt equitable ever made on this account by " the Romans, is diſapproved by Paterculus. But " if this Law was neceſſary for the advantage of " the republic, if it was of ſervice to every indi- " vidual, if it formed an eaſy communication be- " tween the debtor and creditor, it could not be " unjuſt.

" He pays leaſt, ſays Ulpian, who pays lateſt. " This decides the queſtion, whether intereſt be " lawful, that is, whether the creditor can ſell time, " and the debtor buy it."

Let us ſee how the Critic reaſons on this laſt paſſage, which refers only to the Law of Flaccus, and to the political diſpoſitions of the Romans. The Author, ſays he, on reſuming all he had ſaid on uſury, maintains that a creditor is permitted to ſell time. The Critic here ſeems to inſinuate, that the Author had been writing a treatiſe on theology, or Canon Law, and that he had at length reſumed it; tho' it is evident that he is only treating of the political regulations of the Romans; of a Law of Flaccus, and the opinion of Paterculus: ſo that this Law

Law of Flaccus, Paterculus's opinion, the reflection of Ulpian, and that of the Author, are closely connected, and cannot be separated from each other.

I have ſtill many things to ſay; but I chuſe rather to refer the reader to the pieces themſelves. *Believe me, my dear Piſo, they have formed a work which, like the dreams of the ſick, exhibit nothing but vain phantoms* *.

* Credite, Piſones, iſti tabulæ fore librum
Perſimilem, cujus, velut ægri ſomnia, vanæ
Fingentur ſpecies.

HORAT. *de Arte Poetica.*

A DE-

A

DEFENCE

OF

THE SPIRIT OF LAWS.

PART III.

WE have ſeen in the two firſt parts, all that reſults from ſo many bitter criticiſms is, That the Author of The Spirit of Laws has not performed his work according to the plan and views of his Critics; and that if his Critics had wrote a work on the ſame ſubject, they would have thrown in a great many things which they know. It alſo follows from thence, that they are divines, and that the Author is a civilian; that they think themſelves qualified to do his buſineſs, and that he has not the preſumption to believe himſelf fit for theirs. In fine, it follows from thence, that, inſtead of attacking him with ſuch acrimony, they had better have made themſelves ſenſible of the value of what he has ſaid in favour of religion, which he has with equal ardour reſpected and defended. I ſhall now make ſome reflections.

That manner of reaſoning is not good, which, being employed againſt any good book whatſoever, may make it appear as bad as any bad book whatſoever; and which, being uſed againſt any bad book whatſoever, may make it appear as good as any good book whatſoever.

That manner of reaſoning is not juſt, which, to the ſubject in debate, calls in others that have no relation to it, and confounds the ſeveral ſciences, and the ideas belonging to each.

We ought not to diſpute, on a work wrote on any of the ſciences, with reaſons that may attack the ſcience itſelf.

When a perſon writes a criticiſm on a work, and on a work of conſiderable extent and importance, he ought to endeavour to procure a particular knowledge of the ſcience which is the ſubject of that work, and carefully to read the approved authors who have already wrote upon it; in order to ſee, whether the Author has deviated from the uſual received manner of treating the ſubject.

When an Author explains himſelf by word of mouth, or by his writings, which are the images of thoſe words, it is contrary to reaſon to quit the exterior ſigns of his thoughts, to run in ſearch of his thoughts themſelves; becauſe none but himſelf is capable of knowing his thoughts. It is much worſe, when his thoughts are good, and bad ones are attributed to him.

When a perſon writes againſt an Author, and becomes exaſperated againſt him, he ought to prove the character he gives him by what he ſays, and not what he ſays by the character he gives him.

When we ſee that an author's intention is in general good, we ſhall be ſeldomer miſtaken if, in certain places which we think equivocal, we judge according to the general intention, than if we allow him a particular bad intention.

In books wrote for amuſement, three or four pages give an idea of the ſtyle, and the charms of the work: but, in books of reaſoning, we retain nothing if we do not retain the whole chain.

As it is very difficult to write a good work, and very eaſy to write a critique upon it, becauſe the Author has all his defiles to guard, and the Critic has only one of them to force; the latter ought not to fail: but if it happens that he has continually failed, he muſt be inexcuſable.

Beſides,

Beſides, as the Critic may be chargeable with an oſtentation of his ſuperiority over others, and as the uſual effect of the criticiſm is giving ſome delicious moments to human pride; thoſe who give themſelves up to it deſerve to be treated with ſtrict juſtice, but very ſeldom with indulgence.

And as, of all the different kinds of writing, it is that in which it is moſt difficult to ſhew a good temper, we ought to take care not to increaſe, by the bitterneſs of words, this unhappineſs in the ſubject.

When we write on grand and noble ſubjects, it is not ſufficient for us to conſult our zeal; we ought alſo to conſult our abilities, and if heaven has not bleſſed us with great talents, we may ſupply the want of them by diſtruſt of ourſelves, exactneſs, labour, and reflection.

The art of finding, in what has naturally a good ſenſe, all the bad ſenſes which a perſon by falſe reaſoning is capable of giving it, is of no uſe to mankind; and thoſe who practiſe it are like the ravens that fly from living bodies, and hover on all ſides in ſearch of carcaſes.

A like manner of criticiſing produces two grand inconveniencies. The firſt is, That it hurts the mind of the reader, by exhibiting a mixture of truth and falſhood, of good and evil: he is accuſtomed to ſeek for a bad ſenſe in things that have naturally a good one; whence he is eaſily lead to the diſpoſition of ſearching for a good ſenſe in things that have naturally a bad one: it thus makes him loſe the faculty of reaſoning juſtly, and throws him into all the ſubtilties of a falſe logic. The ſecond inconvenience is, That, in rendering, by this manner of reaſoning, good books ſuſpected, we have no arms left with which we can attack thoſe that are bad: ſo that the public has no rule whereby to diſ-

tinguiſh them. If thoſe are treated as Spinoſiſts and Deiſts who are not, what ſhall be ſaid to thoſe who are?

Though we ought readily to think, that thoſe who write againſt us on ſubjects in which all mankind are intereſted, are prompted to do this only by the impulſes of Chriſtian charity; yet, as it is the nature of that virtue rarely to conceal itſelf, as it will ſhine in ſpite of ourſelves, and ſparkle and blaze on all ſides, if it happens that, in two pieces wrote one after another againſt the ſame perſon, no trace can be found of that amiable virtue, that it does not appear in any phraſe, in any turn, in any word, or expreſſion, he who has written ſuch works muſt have juſt cauſe to fear that he was not led to it by Chriſtian charity.

And as virtues merely human are, in us, the effect of what is called a good diſpoſition; if it be impoſſible to diſcover any veſtige of this good diſpoſition, the public may conclude from thence, that theſe pieces are not even the effect of the human virtues.

In the judgment of mankind, it is eaſier to ſee the actions, than to be convinced of the ſincerity of the motives; and it is more eaſy to believe, that the action of uttering atrocious abuſe is an evil, than it is to be perſuaded, that the motive which prompted to it is good.

When a man is fixed in a ſtate intended to render religion reſpected, and which religion itſelf renders reſpectable, and attacks before the men of the world one of that body, it is eſſentially neceſſary that he ſhould maintain, by his manner of acting, the ſuperiority of his character. The world is very corrupt: but there are certain paſſions found there that are kept under great reſtraint: becauſe there are others more favoured that forbid their appearance. Conſider the men of the world in their behaviour

haviour to each other; there is nothing ſo timid; pride durſt not reveal its ſecrets, and, in the regard it has for others, it quits itſelf only to gain new ſtrength. Chriſtianity gives us the habit of ſubduing this pride; the world gives us the habit of concealing it. With the little virtue we have, what would become of us, if our whole ſouls were ſet at liberty, and if we were not attentive to the leaſt word, to the leaſt ſigns, the leaſt geſtures? Now when men, venerable and reſpectable by their characters, ſhew paſſions which the men of the world durſt not ſuffer to break out to public view, theſe begin to think themſelves better than they really are; and this is a great evil.

We men of the world are alſo ſo weak, that we ought to be treated with the utmoſt care and precaution. Therefore when a prieſt lets us ſee all the external marks of violent paſſions, what would he have us think of what paſſes within his breaſt? Can he hope that we, raſh as we are in judging, will not judge accordingly?

It is obſervable that, in the converſations and diſputes of men of a harſh and obſtinate temper, as they ſtrive not to inform and aſſiſt each other, but to obtain a victory, they fly from truth, not in proportion to the greatneſs or littleneſs of their minds, but according to the greater or leſs caprice and inflexibility of their diſpoſitions. The contrary happens to thoſe to whom nature or education has given candour and ingenuity. As their diſputes are mutual ſuccours, they have the ſame object in view; they think differently only that they may think alike, and find and acknowledge the force of truth in proportion to the ſtrength of evidence: this is the reward of a good diſpoſition.

When a man writes on religious ſubjects, he ought not to depend ſo much on the credulity of thoſe

who read, as to ſay things contrary to good ſenſe; becauſe, by increaſing his credit with thoſe who have more piety than underſtanding, he loſes his credit with others who have more underſtanding than piety.

And as religion beſt defends itſelf, it ſuffers greater prejudice by being badly defended, than if it was not defended at all.

If it ſhould happen that a man, after having loſt his readers, ſhould attack a perſon of ſome reputation, and thus obtain the means of being read; one might ſuſpect that, under the pretence of ſacrificing this victim to religion, he ſacrificed him to his own ſelf-love.

The manner of criticiſing of which we are treating, is the only thing in the world moſt capable of limiting the extent, and diminiſhing, if I may uſe the term, the ſum-total of national genius. Theology has its bounds and its forms; becauſe, the truths it teaches being known, men are not allowed to deviate from them. Here then genius cannot take her flight, ſhe being in a manner circumſcribed in a circle. But, to pretend to place the ſame incloſure about thoſe who treat of human ſciences, is mocking the world. The principles of geometry are very true; but if we apply them to things of taſte, we ſhall make reaſon itſelf talk unreaſonably. Nothing ſtifles knowledge more, than covering every thing with a doctor's robe; and the men who would be for ever teaching, are great hindrances to learning. There is no genius that is not contracted by being inveloped by a million of vain ſcruples. Have you the beſt intention in the world, they will force you yourſelf to doubt of it. You can no longer employ your endeavour to ſpeak or write with propriety, when you are perplexed with the fear of expreſſing yourſelf ill; and when, inſtead of purſuing your thought, you are only buſied about

chuſing

chuſing ſuch terms as may eſcape the ſubtilty of the critics. They come to put a biggin on your head, each ſaying at every word, Take care of falling; you would ſpeak like yourſelf, but I would have you ſpeak like me. Do you endeavour to ſoar aloft? They ſtop you by pulling your ſleeve. Have you life and ſtrength? They deprive you of it in an inſtant. Do you riſe a little? They take their rule, and, lifting up their heads, call you to come down that they may meaſure you. Do you run your courſe? They would have you examine all the ſtones the ants have thrown up in your way. No ſcience nor literature is proof againſt this pedantry. The preſent age has formed academies; but they would make us re-enter the ſchools of the darker ages. Deſcartes, however, may give aſſurances to thoſe who, with a genius infinitely beneath his, have the ſame good intentions. That great man was inceſſantly charged with atheiſm; and yet there are not now employed againſt the Atheiſts ſtronger arguments than his.

We ought to regard criticiſms as perſonal only, in the caſes where thoſe who made them have been willing to render them ſo. It is certainly very allowable to criticiſe the works preſented to the public; becauſe it would be ridiculous for thoſe who are willing to inlighten others, to be averſe to be inlightened themſelves. Thoſe who give us information are the companions of our labours. If the Critic and the Author are both in ſearch of truth, they have the ſame intereſt; for truth is a bleſſing deſigned for all mankind: they are then confederates, and not enemies.

It is with great pleaſure that I now lay down the pen. I ſhould have continued to have kept ſilence, if, in keeping it, many perſons had not concluded that I had been reduced to it.

SOME

EXPLANATIONS

OF

THE SPIRIT OF LAWS.

I.

SOME perſons have made this objection: In The Spirit of Laws, honour or fear, and not virtue, is repreſented as the principle upon which certain governments are founded, and virtue is repreſented as the principle of only a few others: whence it follows, that the chriſtian virtues are not required in moſt governments.

To this it is anſwered, that the Author has placed this note in the fifth chapter of the third book: "I ſpeak here of political virtue, which is a moral "virtue as directed to the general advantage; very "little of private and moral virtue, and not at all of "that virtue which has a relation to revealed truths." In the following chapter is another note that refers to this, and to the ſecond and third chapters of the fifth book. This virtue the Author has defined *the love of our country*; and the love of our country he has

has defined *the love of equality and frugality.* The whole fifth book reſts on theſe principles. When a writer has defined a word in his work, when he has given, if I may uſe the expreſſion, his dictionary, ought not his words to be underſtood according to the ſignification he has given them?

The word Virtue, like moſt of the words in all languages, is taken in ſeveral acceptations: ſometimes it ſignifies the chriſtian virtues; ſometimes the pagan virtues; and often, a certain chriſtian virtue, or a particular pagan virtue; it likewiſe ſometimes ſignifies fortitude; and in ſome languages it means a certain capacity for an art, or for certain arts. It is what precedes, or what follows the word, that fixes its ſignification: but here the Author has done more—he has ſeveral times given his definition. This objection has therefore been only made on account of the work being read with too much rapidity.

II.

THE Author has ſaid in the third chapter of the ſecond book, "The beſt ariſtocracy is that "in which the part of the people who have no ſhare "in the legiſlature is ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, "that the governing party have no intereſt in op-"preſſing them. Thus, when Antipater made a "Law at Athens, that whoſoever was not worth "two thouſand drachms ſhould be excluded from "the right of ſuffrage *, he formed by this means "the beſt ariſtocracy poſſible; becauſe this was "ſo ſmall a ſum, that it excluded very few, and "not one of any rank or conſideration in the city. "Ariſtocratical families ought therefore, as much

* Diodorus, lib. xviii. p. 601, Rhodoman's edition.

"as

" as poſſible, to level themſelves in appearance with " the people. The more an ariſtocracy borders on " democracy, the nearer it approaches to perfec- " tion; and it is the more imperfect, in proportion " as it draws towards monarchy."

In a letter inſerted in the *Journal de Travaux* for the month of April 1749, this quotation is objected againſt the Author. The writer ſays, that he has open before him the place quoted, and there finds, that there were only nine thouſand perſons who had the ſum preſcribed by Antipater; and that there were twenty-two thouſand who wanted it: whence it is concluded that the Author has miſapplied his quotations, the ſmall number having the ſum required, and the large number being excluded for the want of it.

ANSWER.

It were to be wiſhed, that he who has made this critical remark had paid greater attention to what both the Author and Diodorus have ſaid.

1. There were not twenty-two thouſand who wanted this ſum in Antipater's republic. The twenty-two thouſand perſons mentioned by Diodorus were ſent away and eſtabliſhed in Thrace; and there only remained to form this republic, the nine thouſand citizens who had the ſum, and thoſe of the lower people who would not ſet out for Thrace. The reader may conſult Diodorus.

2. Though there had remained twenty-two thouſand perſons at Athens, who wanted the above ſum, the objection would not be the leſs unjuſt. The words *great* and *ſmall* are relative. Nine thouſand Sovereigns in a ſtate are an immenſe number; and twenty-two thouſand ſubjects in the ſame ſtate, is a number extremely ſmall.

INDEX

BRITISH 17 NO 75 MUSEUM

INDEX

TO

THE SPIRIT OF LAWS.

The Numbers expreſſed by Letters refer to the Volume, thoſe by Figures to the Page.

A.

ABORTION: why the women of America procured it, ii. 133.

Accuſations allowed in old Rome: uſeful in a republic, i. 104. The abuſe made of them under the emperors, ib. Public, i. 262. Cauſe of their being put a ſtop to, i. 136. Of hereſy and magic, the circumſpection they require, i. 246. Abuſe that may be made of them, i. 247.

Accuſed: in what manner they eſcaped condemnation at Rome, i. 99.

Accuſers: in what caſe they were puniſhed at Athens, i. 263. Guards appointed to watch them, ib. Falſe: in what manner they were puniſhed, ib.

Actions of men; how they are judged in a monarchy, i. 37, *& ſeq.* Cauſe of the great actions of the ancients, i. 44, *& ſeq.* *Ex bona fide*, by whom deviſed, i. 98.

Adoption, when uſeful, i. 57. When not, i. 68.

Adulation, when forbid by honour, i. 38.

Adultery, (accuſation of) public among the Romans, i. 62. In what manner it was aboliſhed, i. 135. (A woman) accuſed by her children, ii. 206.

Advocate of the public proſecutor, ii. 319. His function, ib.

Africa: State of the people who inhabit its coaſts, ii. 23.

Reaſon

Reaſon of their being barbarians, ib. Nature of their commerce, ib. Eaſtern coaſt, its limits known by the ancients, ii. 47. Leſs known in Ptolemy's time, than in that of Solomon, ii. 45.

Agriculture: in what light it was conſidered by the ancient Greeks, i. 49. By whom exerciſed among that nation, ib. and ii. 132. Encouraged among the Chineſe and Perſians, i. 300.

Alcibiades, admired by the univerſe; for what reaſon, i. 54.

Alexander, reflection on his project, i. 187. What he did to preſerve his conqueſts, i. 188. His conqueſts in the Indies, ii. 38. Founds Alexandria, ii. 39. His navigation on the Indies, and the Indian ſea, ii. 45, *& ſeq.* His empire divided, i. 159.

Alienation of the great offices and fiefs, ii. 477, *& ſeq.*

Allodia. How changed into fiefs and why, ii. 439, *& ſeq.* Advantage of this change, ii. 443.

Ambaſſadors of princes, to what laws they were ſubject, ii. 230.

Ambition, invades the hearts of ſome people, when virtue is baniſhed; i. 26. Pernicious in a republic, i. 32. Whether it be uſeful in a monarchy, i. ib.

America, by whom diſcovered, ii. 71. Conſequence of this diſcovery, with regard to the reſt of the world, ii. 74. And with regard to Spain, ii. 75. Nature of its ſoil, i. 364. Why there are ſo many ſavages in that country, ib.

Amortization, (right of,) ii. 190.

Amphictyons, their law contradictory to itſelf, ii. 341.

Annuitants, reaſons that induce the ſtate to grant them a ſingular protection, ii. 110.

Anonymous (letters,) whether any notice ought to be taken of them, i. 267.

Antipater, the law which he enacted at Athens, i. 18. Advantage of that law, i. 19.

Antruſtio, what was underſtood by that word, ii. 417. The compoſition which was ſettled for the murder of an Anſtruſtio, ib. Whether the order of Antruſtio's formed a body of nobility, ii. 421.

Appeal,

Appeal, how it was looked upon by the Romans, ii. 296.

Appeal of falſe judgment; what it was formerly, ii. 297. It included felony, ib. how they proceeded therein, ii. ib. & *ſeq.* and 299. Who were forbid to make it, ii. 301. It was to be made upon the ſpot, ii. 311. Of default of juſtice, when it was permitted, ii. 303. In what manner it was introduced, ii. 305. Whether battle was allowed in this caſe, *ib.* & *ſeq.* Followed with an appeal of falſe judgment, ii. 306. To the king, ii. 304. Whether they could appeal the king's court of falſe judgment, ii. 301. A law of Charles VII. concerning appeals, ii. 353.

Appius, (the Decemvir,) how he eludes his own laws in the affair of Virginia, i. 103.

Arabs, their character, ii. 61. & *ſeq.* Their ancient and preſent commerce, ib. Their liberty, i. 370.

Arcadians, nature of the country they inhabit, i. 48.

Areopagite ſeverely puniſhed for killing a ſparrow, i. 90.

Areopagus, a court of judicature at Athens, i. 61. Several judgments paſſed by this court, i. 90. Its functions, i. 99.

Argives, their cruelty condemned by the Athenians, i. 109.

Ariana, its ſituation, ii. 37.

Ariſtocracy, what it is, i. 10, and 16. When it is happy, i. 16. Which is the beſt, i. 18. and the moſt imperfect, i. 19. Things pernicious in an ariſtocracy, i. 64. & *ſeq.* and 147, & *ſeq.* In what manner it is corrupted, i. 147.

Ariſtotle, his opinion concerning the virtues of ſlaves, i. 42. In regard to natural ſlaves, i. 318, & *ſeq.* In regard to muſic, i. 48. In regard to artiſans, i. 49. In regard to the ſpirit's waxing old, i. 62. In regard to monarchies, i. 217. In regard to the number of citizens, ii. 135.

Arms; effect ariſing from the change of arms, ii. 257. Fire-arms; the bearing of them how puniſhed at Venice, ii. 233.

Arreſt or decree given upon an appeal; origin of the formulary employed therein, ii. 333.

Artaxerxes: why he put his children to death, i. 80.

Artiſans, how they came to be made freemen, i. 48.

Arts,

Arts, what Xenophon ſays of thoſe who exerciſe them, i. 49. *& ſeq.* Their uſe, ii. 132. Their influence on the number of the inhabitants of a country, ib.

As, Roman, its value, ii. 102, *& ſeq.*

Aſia, what kind of trade was carried on formerly in that country, ii. 26. Revolutions that have happened in Aſia, 26. Quality and effects of its climate, i. 350, *& ſeq.* Its climate different from that of Europe, i. 352. How often ſubdued, i. 353.

Aſſembly of the people: why the number of citizens that compoſe it ought to be fixed, i. 10.

Aſſizes, ii. 303, and 336.

Aſſociations of cities, when neceſſary, i. 166.

Aſſyrians, conjecture in regard to their communication with diſtant countries, ii. 27.

Aſylums in the temples, ii. 186. Numerous in Greece, 187. Abuſe made of them, ib. Eſtabliſhed by Moſes; for whom, ib. Refuſed to the Saxons, ii. 251. Every man ought to have his own houſe for an aſylum, ii. 345.

Atheiſt, why he always talks of religion, ii. 183.

Athens, (law of) to put ſtrangers to death who concern themſelves in the aſſemblies of the people, i. 10, and the uſeleſs people, when the city was beſieged, ii. 350. (People of,) how they choſe their magiſtrates and ſenators, i. 11, and 14. Their ability in this reſpect, i. 11. How they gave their ſuffrages, i. 14. (People of,) divided into four claſſes, i. 13. Their character, i. 391. Number of her forces in the war againſt the Perſians, i. 27. Her ſtate under Demetrius Phalereus, and under Demoſthenes, ib. Overcome at Cheronea; conſequences of that defeat, ib. Her maritime power, ii. 32. The uſe ſhe made of it, ib. *& ſeq.* Cauſe of her corruption, i. 146.

Athualpa (the Ynca) in what manner he was treated by the Spaniards, ii. 250.

Attica, its ſoil had an influence on the government, i. 358.

Attila, his empire diſſolved, i. 160.

Attorney (the King's) an office eſtabliſhed at Majorca, ii. 320.

Avarice poſſeſſes peoples' heart, when virtue is baniſhed, i. 26. Whether it can be deſtroyed by the laws which aboliſh the property of land, i. 77. Of princes, ii. 66.

Avaricious: why they hoard up gold preferable to any other metal, ii. 90.

Auguſtus (the emperor) abſtains from reforming the manners and luxury of women, i. 127, and 138. His laws againſt celibacy, ii. 139. His ſpeech to thoſe who wanted him to repeal thoſe laws, ii. ib. He permits the free-born citizens who were not ſenators to marry freed-women, ii. 144. He durſt not take the name of Romulus, i. 388. In what manner he appeaſes the Romans, i. 389.

Auſtria (the houſe of) its fortune, ii. 71.

Authority unlimited, how dangerous in a republic to confer it upon a ſingle citizen, i. 17. Caſe wherein it may be uſeful, ib. Of magiſtrates in different deſpotic governments and monarchies, i. 83, *& ſeq.* Paternal, uſeful for the preſervation of morals, i. 63. How far it was extended among the Romans and Lacedæmonians, ib. When it ended at Rome, ib.

B.

Bactria (Grecian kings of) their navigation in the Indies, and the diſcoveries they made, ii. 43, 44.

Bailiffs, their functions, before and after the revival of the Roman law, ii. 331. *& ſeq.*

Bank of St. George; by whom directed, i. 16.

Bankers in what their art conſiſts, ii. 96, *& ſeq.* The aſſiſtance a ſtate may derive from them, ii. 107.

Banks. To what kind of commerce they are adapted, ii. 10. *& ſeq.* Cauſe of the lowering of gold and ſilver, ii. 81.

Bantam (king of) is the univerſal heir to all his ſubjects, i. 77. What follows from thence, ib. Great number of girls in his dominions, ii. 130.

Barbarians different from ſavages, i. 365. Their behaviour after

after conquering the Romans, ii. 390 and 359. Communication with them prohibited by the Romans, ii. 60. Their laws, ii. 252, *& ſeq.* Whether they were confined to a certain diſtrict, ii. 253. How they came to be loſt, ii. 263, *& ſeq.*

Barbariſm of nations, is the cauſe of the ſcarcity of ſpecie, ii. 86.

Baſhaws: why always expoſed to the fury of their maſter, i. 34. Abſolute in their government, i. 84. How they determine diſputes, i. 95.

Baſil (the emperor:) odd judgments paſſed by this prince, i. 116. *& ſeq.*

Baſtards. More degraded in republics than in monarchies, ii. 125. Laws of the Romans againſt them, ib. Judgment on thoſe laws, ib. Upon what occaſion they were admitted into the number of citizens, ii. 125. In what caſe they inherited, ib.

Baſton, or ſtick, uſed inſtead of the ſword, ii. 284. Blow with a baſton, what compoſition was allowed for it, ii. 285. Why it was reckoned an affront, ib. A weapon peculiar to knaves and villains, ii. ib.

Bayle. His opinion concerning atheiſm and idolatry, ii. 159. Concerning the chriſtian religion, ii. 164.

Bayonne. A generous letter from the governor of this city to Charles IX. i. 40.

Beaumanoir. At what time he wrote, ii. 224, 282, 285, 290. Judgment of his work, ii. 224, and 298. Whence comes the difference between his principles and thoſe of Defontaines, ib.

Beggars how they come to have ſo many *children*, ii. 128.

Beings, all have their laws, i. 1. Particular intelligent beings: Their laws, i. 2.

Believre (Preſident de) his ſpeech to king Lewis XIII. at the trial of the duke *de la Valette*, i. 101.

Benefice, a term oppoſite to that of property, in the law of the Lombards, ii. 386.

Bengal (Bay of) how discovered, ii. 44.
Bætis, a river of Spain, ii. 53.
Betrothing: regulation of the Papian law upon this subject, ii. 143.
Bishops: their power under the kings of the Visigoths, ii. 252. Petition to be exempted from serving in war, ii. 388. Their great riches under the kings of the first race, ii. 443.
Blind man; why not allowed to plead at Rome, ii. 354.
Bonzes destroyed in China; why, 131.
Box on the ear, why reckoned an affront, ii. 286.
Brunechild (queen) her great parts, ii. 424. Cause of her misfortunes, ib. *&* *seq.* Her regency. The revolution which it occasioned, ii. 425, *&* *seq.* Consequence of this revolution, ib. Her execution, ii. 425.
Brutes have their laws, i. 1. Whether we know these laws, i. 3. (Sensation of) to what it is relative, i. 3. Whether they have positive laws, ib.
Burgundians, (laws of the) ii. 250. They received no great changes, and why, 251. See the words *Code* and *Gundebald*.
Buying, (trade of) ii. 81, *&* *seq.*

C.

Cæsar: his laws in regard to debtors, ii. 83. And in regard to married people, ii. 139.
Calumniators, common under the emperor Arcadius, i. 101. Encouraged by Sylla, i. 258.
Camoens: a Portuguese poet. Subject of his poem, ii. 70.
Canaanites: cause of their destruction, i. 167.
Candor, necessary in the making of laws, ii. 356.
Cape of Good Hope: why they could not double it, ii. 47. By whom discovered, ii. 71.
Capitularies: their origin, ii. 253, and 265. (False one) attributed to Charlemagne, ii. 263. Added to the laws of the Lombards, ii. 265.

Carthage: Cauſe of her ruin, i. 27. Policy of the Romans in reſpect to this city, 28. Effect of her deſpair, ib. Her maritime power, ii. 50. How ſhe increaſed her riches, ib. Her colonies, ib. Her wars with Marſeilles, ii. 54. Her different ſtates, 55. Her ſenate of what kind of perſons it was compoſed, i. 241.

Carthaginians: their commerce, ii. 52. Their treaty with the Romans, ii. 54. Whether they were acquainted with the compaſs, ii. ib.

Carvilius Ruga: why he repudiated his wife, i. 347. Whether he is the firſt that did it, i. 346.

Cato the Cenſor: his motive for ſupporting the Voconian and Oppian laws, ii. 241.

Cauſes reſerved to the king by the laws of the Barbarians, ii. 303.

Cauſes criminal, by whom tried among the Romans, i. 237, *& ſeq.*

Celibacy (the ſpirit of) is introduced into the empire, ii. 146. *& ſeq.* and ii. 165. Reflections on celibacy, ii. 188, 189.

Cenſors at Rome, their functions, i. 47, and 62, and ii. 138. Their privileges, i. 67.

Cenſorſhip: its effects among the Romans, in what manner aboliſhed, i. 157. and ii. 137. Re-eſtabliſhed by Cæſar and Auguſtus, ii. 139. Upon what occaſion, ib.

Cenſus: its effect, i. 57. Whether there was a general cenſus in the ancient French monarchy, ii. 385. Whether it was the ſame thing as the cenſus of the Romans, ii. 380. What it was, and on whom raiſed, ii. 381. Whether it was paid by freemen, ii. 382.

Centenarii: their functions, ii. 378. How eſtabliſhed, ib. Their diſtricts, ib.

Cernè: its ſituation, ii. 50.

Champions employed in judicial combats, ii. 291.

Change of religion, ii. 195.

Charlemagne, divides his empire among his children, ii. 458. The laws he gives to the Saxons, ii. 250. His will, ii. 453.

His

His conduct in the government, ii. 459, *& ſeq.* His reaſons for eſtabliſhing a great number of biſhopries in Germany, ii. 461. His elogium, ii. 459, *& ſeq.* Badly imitated by his ſon, ii. 462. The ſtate of Europe before and ſince his time, ii. 465. His ſucceſſors; in what manner they loſt the throne, ii. 469, *& ſeq.* His family; in what manner they loſt the empire, ii. 482. *& ſeq.*

Charles Martel: ſtate of Europe in his time, ii. 446. He ſtrips the clergy, ii. 447. Encouraged by the Pope, ii. 447. Gives away the church-lands, both as allodia, and as fiefs, ii. 455.

Charles V. (emperor) his power, ii. 71.

Charles XII. Letter from this prince to the ſenate of Sweden, i. 75. Cauſe of his fall, i. 186. Compared to Alexander, ib.

Childeric, why driven from the throne, i. 380.

Children, who is obliged to provide for them, ii. 122. Their condition, when they are the fruit of marriage, ii. 121. and when they are not, ii, 122. Of different mothers, whether they ought to inherit alike, ii. 124. Cuſtom of Japan upon this head, ib. In what caſe it is advantageous to have a great many, ii. 128. Why they are more numerous in ſea-ports, ii. 130. Honours paid at Rome to thoſe who had moſt, ii. 141, *& ſeq.* Expoſing of them, in uſe in China, why, ii. 133. Laws of the Romans, and the practice of the Germans, in reſpect to this article, ii. 150. *& ſeq.* Obliged to maintain their father, ii. 207. Whether it be not contrary to humanity to puniſh them for the crime of their father, i. 272. Whether the law of nature ordains that they ſhall be heirs to their father, ii. 123.

China: idea of its government, i. 402, *& ſeq.* Reflection upon this ſubject, i. 161. Difference between the character we have of it from the miſſionaries, and that which is given by mercantile people, ib. *& ſeq.* Fathers are puniſhed here for the faults of their children, i. 120. Luxury

is pernicious in this country; why, i. 131, *& ſeq.* Cauſe of its revolutions, i. 132. Its rites, i. 400, and 402. Provinces of China raiſed from beneath the waters, i. 362. (Legiſlators of) the principal object they had in view, i. 398. How they obtained it, 399. Cuſtom of China in regard to the cultivation of lands, i. 300. Particular quality of its climate, i. 162. (Emperors of) the intereſt they have in governing well, i. 163. (Commerce of) compared to that of Europe, ii. 74.

Chineſe, their character, i. 393, *& ſeq.* Whether they can loſe their laws, i. 401. They are great cheats, i. 404.

Chivalry (ſyſtem of) how it was formed, ii. 261, *& ſeq.*

Chriſtopher Columbus: his propoſal rejected by Francis, ii. 78. Reflection upon this ſubject, ib.

Cicero, finds fault with the laws which made the ſuffrages ſecret, i. 14. A ſaying of his concerning commerce, ii. 4. and concerning the Agrarian laws, ii. 223.

Cinq-Mars: upon what pretence he was brought to trial, i. 251.

Citizen, Roman, could not be put to death, i. 114. Nor be tried but by the people of Rome, i. 238.

Civil (State) its definition, i. 7. (Law) diſtinct from the canon law, ii. 211, and from the law of nations, ii. 229. (Laws) their influence on marriages, ii. 216, and 217. Their principle, ii. 212. Whether the general depoſitions of the civil law are applicable every where, ii. 233.

Civility of the people of China, i. 399.

Claudius (the emperor) appropriated to himſelf the deciſion of all cauſes; the conſequence thereof, i. 101. He derogates from the Voconian law, ii. 246.

Clemency: whoſe peculiar characteriſtic it is, i. 121. Its effects, i. 121.

Clergy (power of the) when it is dangerous or proper, i. 20, Serves as a barrier in ſome countries againſt the torrent of arbitrary power, ib. How great it was under the kings of the firſt race, i. 386. (Riches of the) ſometimes exceſſive,

and ſometimes reduced to nothing, ii. 444 and 445. Supported by king Pepin, and depreſſed by his ſon, and other kings, ii. 448, and 449. Stript by the nobility, ii. 453. They declare againſt judicial combats, ii. 277.

Climate: its influence on the conſtitution of body, and on the laws, i. 292, and 293. On ſobriety, i. 301. On political ſervitude, i. 349. On the diverſions of different nations, ii. 179. On religion, ii. 180. Cold; ſtate of people that live there, i. 292, and 293. Warm: its effect with regard to the body, i. 295 and 296. Of England: its effects, i. 306, and 307. Effect of the climate on the laws of the Germans, i. 308.

Clovis: cauſe of his cruelty againſt his family, i. 383. Made conſul by the emperor, ii. 413.

Coal-pits, their uſe, ii. 131.

Code of the Burgundians; a law of theirs upon hoſpitality, ii. 3, and upon robbery, ii. 205.

Coin, baſe, why eſtabliſhed among the Romans, ii. 62.

Coiners, falſe, declared guilty of high-treaſon, i. 251.

Colchis: its preſent ſituation compared to the ancient, ii. 25. Where there are any traces to be found of its commerce, ii. 26.

Colonies, new, different from the ancient, ii. 72. Their trade, ib. The deſign of it, ib. Laws of Europe upon this head, ib. Whether it be a diſadvantage to them to be diſtant, from the mother country, ii. 73. Effect of this diſtance, ib.

Comitia by tribes, i. 225 and 226.

Commerce prohibited among the Venetian nobility, i. 67. Ought to be favoured by the laws i. 70. Whether the great number of inhabitants is any obſtruction to it, i. 124. Its influence upon manners, ii. 1, and 2. Unites nations, but diſunites individuals, ii. 2. Effect ariſing from a total privation of it, ii. 3. Its relation to the conſtitution of the government, ii. 4. Its enterprizes: whether ſmall republics are capable of great exterprizes, ii. 5. Its free-

dom; in what it conſiſts, ii. 11. It requires a multiplication of the civil laws, ii. 16. Whether it be advantageous that princes ſhould engage in it, ii. 16. Example to this purpoſe from the Caſtilians and Portugueſe, ii. 17. Whether it can be carried on by the nobility, ib. Whether it be advantageous to all nations, ii. 19. Cauſe of the poverty of ſome nations, ii. 20. Example of Poland, ib. Cauſe of its revolutions, ii. 25. Of the ancients; in what it differed from ours, ii. 26, and 46. In what ſeas it was carried on, ib. Its ſtate before the time of Alexander, ii. 29. Changes its face under this prince, ii. 36. And after the deſtruction of the Romans, ii. 65. Under the Saracens, ii. 67. Is revived in Europe, ii, 69. Is in its own nature uncertain, ii. 85. Whether it be proper for one nation to exclude another from trading with it, ii. 9. Judgment of the conduct of the Japaneſe in this reſpect, ib. Whether it be proper for a ſtate to lay itſelf under an obligation of ſelling its manufactures only to a ſingle nation, ib. Example drawn from the Poles, ib.

Commerce, low; notion the Greeks had of it, i. 49.

Commiſſaries, or the king's deputies, their authority, ii. 303.

Community of goods between man and wife; its advantage, i. 140.

Compaſs: in what manner navigation was carried on before its invention, ii. 28. Whether it was poſſible to ſurround Africa without this aſſiſtance, ii. 30. Whether it was known to the ancients, ii. 45. The invention of it; its effect, ii. 70.

Compoſitions, in uſe among the barbarians. What they were, ii. 394, and 395. For murder, ii. 396, and 397. Laws concerning them, ii. 398. Different according to the difference of perſons, ii. 397. In what caſe they were refuſed, ii. 398.

Condemned perſons: what was done with their goods at Rome, i. 99.

Confiſcation of merchandizes. Charter of the Engliſh upon this

this ſubject, ii. 13. Law of Spain upon this ſubject, i. 13. The practice of Europe and Aſia upon this article, ib.

Confiſcation of goods, In what ſtate uſeful, i. 82, and 83. In what caſe permitted among the Romans, i. 83. Of the effects of Jews who embrace Chriſtianity, on what founded, ii. 68. Opinion of Bodin in regard to confiſcations, i. 83.

Conqueror, his rights over conquered people, i. 175, and 176. Judgment of the pretended generoſity of ſome conquerors, i. 194.

Conqueſt, its aim, i. 7. Its uſe in regard to the conquered ſtates, i. 197. (Right of) from whence derived, i. 175. What power it gives to the conqueror, 176. How that power ought to be regulated, i. 176. Methods of preſerving it, i. 193. Vaſtly large; ſuppoſeth deſpotic power, i. 193. Its effects in regard to the conquering ſtates, i. 187. Thoſe of the people of the north of Aſia and of Europe have had different effects, i. 353.

Conſtantine, changes he had made in the military government, i. 116. His laws in regard to marriages, ii. 144, and 145, and the ſpirit of thoſe laws, ii. 147. Ordains that people ſhould reſt on the ſabbath, ii. 179.

Conſulate Roman, its power, i. 229, and 230. Reduced by the Plebeians, i. 230.

Conſuls, Roman, what cauſes they decided, i. 229.

Continency public, neceſſary in a popular ſtate, i. 133. Attention of legiſlatures upon this article, ib. Its effects with regard to propagation, ii. 122.

Contumacy, how puniſhed in the firſt ages of the French monarchy, ii. 440, and 441.

Converſation: why truth is neceſſary in converſation, i. 38.

Copper, different proportions between copper and ſilver, ii. 86, and 103, and 104.

Corinth, its advantageous ſituation, ii. 34. Corruption of its inhabitants, ii. 35.

Cornelian (laws) change which Cæſar made in them, i. 115.

Corpse: the digging it out of the ground in order to ſtrip it, how puniſhed by the Salic law, ii. 395.

Corruption: ſeveral ſorts of, i. 110. Of governments, with what it begins, i. 143. Its bad effects, i. 152.

Coſts: in what manner the payment of coſts was introduced into law-ſuits, ii. 317.

Coucy (Lord of) his ſaying in regard to the Engliſh, i. 172.

Council: whether the prince's council in a monarchy have the confidence of the people, i. 22. A kind of contraſt between the prince's council and his courts of judicature, i. 102.

Country, (love of) what it requires, i. 42. To what government it is peculiar, i. 43. Its effects, i. 52. Prevailed among the Cretans, i. 153.

Counts. Their functions, ii. 377, 378, and 379. What difference between them and the dukes, ii. 378, and 379. In what manner they adminiſtered juſtice, ii. 383. How long their employments laſted, ii. 423. Their power increaſed, ii. 436.

Court of monarchs, deſcription which hiſtorians give of it, i. 30. Center of politeneſs, i. 39. What a court air conſiſts in, i. 39.

Creation: ſuppoſeth invariable laws, i. 2.

Creator: cannot govern the world without rules, i. 2.

Credit of ſtate. How it ought to be maintained by the miniſters, ii. 110.

Crimes public of their own nature, i. 29. And yet divided into really public, and private, i. 30. Private, why ſo called, ib. Inexpiable, ii. 163. Four ſorts of, i. 243. Againſt nature, placed in the ſame rank with magic and hereſy, i. 248.

Cromwell hindered the eſtabliſhment of a democracy among the Engliſh, i. 26.

Cruelty, why it is more common in deſpotic governments, i. 105, and 106.

Cult or worſhip, (external) its influence on religion, ii. 183, 186.

186. Its magnificence relative to the luxury of the ſtate, ii. 191. Its purity independent of its magnificence, 191, and 192.

Cumæ; Ariſtodemus enervates on purpoſe the courage of its inhabitants, i. 126.

Cunning; when permitted by honour, i. 58.

Cuſtoms, antient, advantage there is in obſerving them, i. 61. New ones are generally abuſes, i. 61. Different: whether a monarch ought to tolerate them, i. 92. Relative to ſlavery and liberty, i. 408. Local; their origin, ii. 167. Their antiquity, ib. ordinances of king Pepin in regard to the *local cuſtoms*, ib. Whether they were the ſame thing as the laws of the Barbarians, ii. 267. Their authority at the time of king Pepin, and after him, ii. 268. Of France different in each lordſhip, ii. 335. Origin of this difference, ii. 335. How they were preſerved, 336. Written, ib.

Cuſtom-houſes: in what places eſtabliſhed, and with what view, ii. 12. Difficulty attending them: cauſe of the deſtruction of commerce, ib. *& ſeq.* Of Cadiz, ii. 79.

Cynete, (the inhabitants of) what Polybius ſays of them, 47.

Czar (Peter I.) forbids the preſenting any petitions to him, i. 269. changes the cuſtoms of the Muſcovites, i. 396. At what place he joined the two ſeas, ii. 28.

D.

Darius, his navigation on the Indus, ii. 37. How long it laſted, ii. 39.

Debtors, inſolvent, ſold at Athens and at Rome, i. 264. Severe laws againſt them, 264. Effect of thoſe laws, ib. Laws in their favour, i. 265.

Debts whether it be for the advantage of a ſtate to be indebted to itſelf, ii. 108. (Public payment of them,) ii. 109.

Decemvirs, Their deſign, i. 118. Their power, i. 224. On what occaſion created, i. 224.

Decimal laws, by whom abrogated, ii. 148.

Decorum: its rules ought not to be neglected, i. 39.

Decretals: they communicate their judiciary forms to all courts, ii. 312. Idea of their origin, ii. 357.

Deity has his laws, i. 1. Whether we ought to avenge the Deity's cauſe, i. 244.

Delicacy of courtiers, from whence it ariſes, i. 39.

Demeſne, or crown lands. See *Domain.*

Demetrius Phalereus, numbers the citizens of Athens, i. 27.

Democracy. What it is, i. 10. State of the people under this government, ib. Its fundamental laws, ib. Its principle, i. 25. In what manner it is corrupted, i. 142. Whether it can make conqueſts, i. 178.

Denarius, Roman. Its value, ii. 102.

Depopulations, ii. 135. How they may be remedied, ii. 154, and 155.

Depoſitary of the laws neceſſary in a monarchy, i. 21. Of what kind it ſhould be, 22. Whether the prince's council are a proper depoſitary, ib. Why there is any ſuch thing in a deſpotic government, 23.

Deputies or *Commiſſaries* from the king, their authority, ii. 303, and 304.

Deſerters puniſhed with death, whether this be an effectual puniſhment, i. 108.

Deſpotic prince, an enemy to honour, i. 33. Why ſo, ib. The ſource of his power, ib. Extent of his power, i. 35. Inconveniencies ariſing from his government, ib. In ſome countries he is univerſal heir to all his ſubjects, i. 76. Inconveniency whence ariſing, i. 77, *& ſeq.*

Deſpotic government. Its nature and conſequences, i. 22. Its fundamental laws, ib. Its principle, i. 32, and 73. How it is corrupted, i. 49. Idea of this government, i. 73. Why ſo extended, i. 80. An obſtacle to commerce, ib. *& ſeq.* Its diſtinctive properties, i. 159. Its end or view, i. 198. How it provides for its ſecurity, i. 169. How it may be ſoftened, i. 271, *& ſeq.* What kind of tax is proper for it, i. 284.

Dictator, Roman, compared to the ſtate inquiſitor of Venice, i. 15.

i. 15. Judgment of thoſe two magiſtracies, ib. *& ſeq.* His power, i. 227.

Dictatorſhip, why it could be only of a ſhort duration, i. 18.

Diſputes between the clergy and the nobility, with regard to property, ii. 467, 468.

Diſtinctions betwixt the Romans and Franks, eſtabliſhed by the Salic law, ii. 254, *& ſeq.*

Diſtributions made among the people, in what caſe, i. 65. Dangerous, ib.

Divorce: in what caſe it may be agreeable to nature, ii. 306. Different from repudiation, i. 344. Definition of both, ib. Law of the Maldivans upon this ſubject, i. 345. Of Mexico, ib. Law of the Romans upon this ſubject, i. 345.

Doctrines: we ſhould avoid drawing any dangerous conſequences from them, ii. 175. Falſe, ſometimes uſeful, ii. 186.

Domain, or crown Lands; its neceſſity, ii. 225. Whether it be unalienable or not, ib. Unalienable was unknown to the commencement of the monarchy, ii. 439. Of what kind it was under the ſecond race, ii. 379.

Dominion: whether mankind could have an idea of it before the eſtabliſhment of ſociety, i. 6.

Domitian (the emperor): the effect which his cruelties had in regard to the people, i. 34. He orders the vines in Gaul to be pulled up, ii. 60.

Dowries of women, different in different governments, i. 140.

Duels: (puniſhment againſt), ii. 291, 292.

Duetis: effect of their weight, i. 70. See *Taxes*.

E.

Eaſt, (people of the), why their empires are ſo eaſy to govern, i. 23. Why they are ſo attached to their religion and cuſtoms, i. 300.

Edict of Piſtes: its epocha, ii. 259. By whom publiſhed, ii. 260. Inferences drawn from this edict, ib.

Education, (laws of), to what they ought to be relative, i. 37. Different in each government, i. 37. Their principle, ib. In monarchies; when it commences, the virtues it teaches, ib. *& ſeq.* To what laws it ought to conform, i. 39. In deſpotic governments, i. 41. Of what ſort it ought to be, ib. *& ſeq.* Of the ancients, compared with ours, i. 42. Its difference in the different periods of youth, ib. In a republic; of what importance it is, i. 43. That which prevailed at Cumæ, i. 206.

Egypt: its ancient commerce, ii. 36. Trade eſtabliſhed there by the Greeks, ii. 37. Continues its trade under the Saracens, ii. 66.

Election to benefices, relinquiſhed by the kings, ii. 453, 454. Of popes, left to the people of Rome, i. 454. (Right of,) to the crown, poſſeſſed by the great men of the kingdom under the ſecond race, how exerciſed, ii. 458.

England; its direct end or view, i. 198. Principles of its conſtitution, i. 208, *& ſeq.* Effects of this conſtitution with regard to the character and manners of the Engliſh, i. 408, *to the end.* From whence it took the idea of its government, i. 212. Its ſpirit with reſpect to commerce, ii. 7. Its conduct contrary to that of other nations, ii. 8. In what manner judgment is paſſed in that country, i. 97. Laws of, in relation to particular merchandiſes, ii. 11.

Engliſh, what they have done to favour their liberty, i. 21. In what caſe they are liable to loſe it, i. 212. What ſort of people they would be if they were to loſe it, i. 20, 21. Why they could not eſtabliſh a democracy, i. 26. They were obliged to return to a regal government, ib. The uſe they have made of religion, commerce, and liberty, ii. 8. More eaſy to overcome at home than abroad, i. 179.

Embezzlement of the public money, or peculation; why natural in deſpotic governments, i. 82. Laws againſt it, i. 406.

Employments; whether they ſhould be venal, i. 89. Opinion of ſome authors in regard to the venality of employments, i. 90.

Ephori, magiſtrates of Sparta their functions, i. 67.
Epidamnians; how they regulated their commerce, i. 47.
Equality, (the love of,) what it is; its effect, i. 53. How it is excited, i. 54. Whether it is to be found in monarchies, ib. How eſtabliſhed in a democracy, i. 55. Among families, neceſſary in an ariſtocracy, i. 68. Ceaſes among men as ſoon as they enter into ſociety, i. 6. and 145. Extreme, as dangerous as the defect of equality, i. 142. Real; whether it be eaſy to eſtabliſh, i. 57. When it can be ſuppeſſed, i. 58. Dependant on frugality, ib. Of the people of a republic compared with that of the ſubjects of a deſpotic prince, i. 96.
Eſchetage (right of,) its origin, ii. 66.
Eſſenes, a particular ſect among the Jews, ii. 166.
Eſtabliſhment, of the French monarchy, a book criticiſed in this work, ii. 374 and 410. Refutation of this Author's ſyſtem, ii. 411, *& ſeq.*
Eunuchs, are conſidered as citizens only by a kind of fiction, i. 329, 330. Raiſed to magiſtracies, i. 330. Maried, and why, i. 331.
Europe, its power, ii. 74. Its ſtate after the deſtruction of the Romans, ii. 150. How it was re-peopled after Charlemagne, ii. 152. Its actual ſtate, ii. 153. Leſs ſubject to revolutions than Aſia, i. 353.
Exchange; what it is, ii. 87, and 90. Idea of it by the example of Holland, ii. 92, *& ſeq.* Different ſituations of it; whether the ſtate loſes or gains in ſuch a ſituation of the exchange, ii. 94. *& ſeq.* It tends to a certain proportion, ii. 97, 98. The various turns in its courſe, ii. 80. Its utility, ii. 106. Advantage which merchants have in ſending money abroad when the exchange is below par, ii. 106. In what caſe money may be ſend abroad when the exchange is at par, ib. (Letters of,) by whom invented, ii. 69.
Excluſion from the ſucceſſion to the throne, in what caſe it may be applied to the next heir, ii. 231.
Executive power, in what manner it limits the legiſlative power,

power, i. 206. To whom, it ought to be intruſted, i. 205. To whom it was intruſted among the Romans, i. 227. How it is employed, i. 198.

F.

Faith, Punic, ii. 52.

Family, particular, how it ought to be governed, i. 37, and 42. What perſons compoſe it, ii. 123. (Names of their) advantage over other names, ib.

Famines, frequent in China, i. 163.

Fannian law, the deſign of it, i. 140.

Farmers of the revenues; whether they are advantageous to a ſtate, i. 291. Whether it be proper to render this profeſſion honourable, ib.

Farming of the cuſtoms is deſtructive to trade, becauſe of its exactions, ii 12. (Of the revenues,) whether it is preferable to the adminiſtration of them, i. 290.

Fatality, (blind,) whether it be the cauſe of the productions of this world, i. 1.

Fathers, whether their conſent is neceſſary for marriage, ii. 126. In what country they are puniſhed for the crimes of their children, i. 120.

Fear, how it induces mankind to aſſociate, i. 5, 6. The principle of deſpotic goverment, i. 33.

Fecundity more conſtant in brutes than in the human ſpecies, ii. 122.

Fertility of a country favourable to a monarchical goverment, i. 358. Its effects, i. 359.

Feſtivals, too common at Athens, ii. 179. Ought to be relative to commerce, ib.

Feudal laws, at what time they appeared, ii. 345, 346. Their effects, ii. 347. Their ſource, ii. 360.

Feudatory (princes,) preſerve a deſpotic ſtate, i. 193.

Fiduciary bequeſt forbidden by the ancient Roman law, ii. 231.

Fiefs; whether they were known to the ancient Germans, ii. 362. Advantage of them, ii. 440. Changes made in them,

them, ii. 475. At will, ii. 378. Why they became hereditary, i. 92. Of resumption, ii. 442. Nature of them after the reign of Charles the Bald, ii. 478, 479. Perpetuity of them established in France earlier than in Germany, ii. 481. Why they have changed less in Germany than in France, ii. 482. Civil laws upon this subject, ii. 491. Their origin, ib. What it is *to dismember a fief*, ii. 487. (Inheritance of,) its antiquity, ii. 439. It effects in regard to the regal power, ii. 475. And in regard to the laws on succession, ii. 491, 492. In regard to the laws of the Bavarians, ii. 264, and to marriages, ii. 491.

Fines, used in judgments, ii. 254, 264, 298, 203, 206. In cases of appeal, ii. 312.

Fines of alienation, (right of,) how established, ii. 487.

Fiscal goods, what is understood by them, ii. 386.

Florins, (Dutch money) its value, ii. 93.

Foe, legislator of the Indians, explication of his doctrines, ii. 176.

Fontenoy, (battle of,) the consequence of it in regard to the feudal laws, ii. 473.

Force, general, in whose hands it may be placed, i. 7. Defensive of states, i. 170. Offensive, i. 174. Relative of states, i. 173.

Formosa, (island,) at what age the religion of that country permits the women to bring their children into the world, ii. 133.

Fortune, law of honour upon this subject, i. 41.

France, number of its inhabitants under Charles IX. ii. 152. Law made in this country to encourage propagation, ii. 154. How it was governed formerly, ii. 256. (Trade of,) whether it is proper it should be carried on by the nobility, ii. 17, 18. Judgment of the practice of this kingdom upon this head, ii. 18.

Frankness, necessary in morals, i. 38, *& seq.*

Franks, (Ripuarian,) united with the Salian Franks, ii. 249. Their conquests, ii. 250, and 364. How they dispose of them,

them, ii. 364. Whether they were friends of the Romans, ii. 255. Whether there were ſeveral orders of citizens among them, ii. 416, *& ſeq.* See the word *Reipuarians.*

Fredum; what it is, ii. 399, *& ſeq.* In what caſe it could be demanded, and in what caſe it could not, ii. 400.

Freedmen, their duty towards their patrons, i. 342. How they were treated at Rome, i. 333. More honoured ſometimes than the free-born, ib. (Of the Volſci) their boldneſs, i. 333. Employed in the ſea-ſervice by the Romans, ii. 58.

French, why they never could preſerve their conqueſts in Italy, i. 185, *& ſeq.*

Frugality, taken ſometimes for avarice, i. 26. (The love of,) its effect, i. 52, *& ſeq.* How it may be excited, i. 53. Ways to maintain it, i. 58.

G.

Gallantry, in what caſe allowed by honour, i. 38. Its origin, ii. 288. What it is, ib. How it increaſed, ii. 289.

Gaul conquered by the Germans, ii. 363. Diviſion which the conquerors made of it, ii. 364.

Geneva, (law of,) with regard to the children of debtors who die inſolvent, ii. 14.

Genoa, republic, propoſed as a model, i. 16.

Germans, how they practiſed hoſpitality, ii. 3. Their laws in relation to puniſhments, i. 119. and ii. 84. Kind of ſlavery admitted amongſt them, i. 319. Their marriages, i. 379. How they were declared of age, i. 380, *& ſeq.* What authority they gave to their princes, i. 384. Reconcilements eſtabliſhed amongſt them, ii. 174, *& ſeq.* Their ſenſibility in regard to the point of honour, ii. 286, *& ſeq.* Influence of their manners on their laws, ii. 253, and 273, *& ſeq.* Their ancient manners, ii. 360.

Germany, (empire of,) why elective, ii. 484. Its government compared with that of Holland, &c. i. 167.

Girls; why inclined to marry, ii. 128. Whether the number of

of them exceeds that of boys, ii. 130. Sold in China, ii. 133. Succeed to certain crowns, and not to others, ii. 487. Reaſons of this difference, ii. 488. Since what time they have ſucceeded to fiefs, in default of male iſſue, ii. 488. A law which obliges them to declare their pregnancy to the magiſtrate, ii. 205.

Glory, or magnanimity, whether it is to be found in a deſpotic government, i. 73.

God, author of the laws by which he has created the world, i. 2.

Gold, whether it be real wealth to have a great quantity of it, ii. 75, and 76. Prohibition of uſing it in ſuperfluities, ii. 78. Cauſe of the greater or leſſer quantity of gold and ſilver, ii. 85. Coaſt, whether the Carthaginians ſailed as far as this coaſt, ii. 33.

Goods, or eſtate, (diviſion of,) in what caſe it may be unequal amongſt children, i. 73. Ceſſion of, in what government it may take place, i. 83, 84. Whether it was eſtabliſhed at Rome, i. 84. Eccleſiaſtic, or church lands, how they were converted into fiefs, ii. 443. (Diviſion of,) i. 92, 93.

Government, the moſt conformable to nature, i. 9. To a ſingle town, i. 159. How many ſpecies there are, i. 9. Definition of each, ib. Its nature different from its principle. i. 24. Its principle, what it is, i. 24, *& ſeq.* From whence the principle of each government is derived, i. 24. Moderate, how it is ſupported, i. 34, 35. Whether deſpotic power is ſupported in the ſame manner, i. 34. Cauſe of its corruption, i. 143. Eaſy to princes, who leave all management of affairs to a miniſter, i. 23. Example of a pope to this purpoſe, ib. Domeſtic, to whom it is intruſted in the Eaſt, i. 343. Its influence in the political government, i. 111.

Gown, or long robe, (dignity of,) what rank it holds in France, ii. 18, 19.

Gracchi; they change the conſtitution of Rome, i. 233.

Grandeur, real, i. 173. Relative, ibid. (idea of,) annexed to the military profeſſion, i. 41.
Grevius, his definition of the political and civil ſtate, i. 7.
Greeks, their exerciſes, i. 49, 50. Effects thereof, i. 50. Their particular inſtitutions, i. 44. Reflection on theſe inſtitutions, i. 47. In what manner they pronounced judgment, i. 97. Their policy to hinder too great a multiplication of inhabitants, ii. 134, 135. (Firſt,) what ſort of people they were, ii. 174.
Grillon refuſes to aſſaſſinate the Duke of Guiſe, i. 40.
Guardians of morals, i. 62. Of the laws, ib.
Guardianſhip of a nobleman's children different from tutelage, ii. 488. In what it conſiſts, ii. 489, 490.
Gundebald, his conſtitution, how received, ii. 295.
Gymnaſtic exerciſes, the only employment of the Greeks, i. 49. Their effect upon peoples' minds, i. 49. What opinion the Romans had of them, i. 154.

H.

Hannibal; his conqueſts fatal to the Carthaginians, i. 181. Motives of Hanno's conduct in regard to him, i. 182. The Carthaginians complain of him to the Romans, i. 27.
Hanno; his navigation on the ocean, ii. 48, 49. Whether this relation be worthy of credit, ii. 49. Anſwer to the objections made againſt it, ii. 50.
Harmony neceſſary between the civil laws, &c. and thoſe of religion, ii. 170.
Heirs (orders of,) inſtituted by Juſtinian, ii. 208. Civil laws of the Tartars upon this ſubject, i. 371.
Helotes, their employment among the Lacedæmonians, i. 49.
Henry VIII. his laws, i. 253, and ii. 204.
Himilco, a Carthaginian chief; he runs his ſhip a-ground, ii. 54. His navigation and ſettlements, ii. 55.
Hobbes; his opinion refuted, i. 5.
Holland, regulates the exchange of other nations, ii. 92, *& ſeq.*
Hollanders or Dutch; their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, ii. 71, and 78.

Homage

Homage of vaſſals, ii. 488. How eſtabliſhed, ii. 485.
Honeſt men; whether the lower ſort of people can be honeſt, when the leading men of the nation are knaves, i. 30. What is neceſſary to make a man honeſt, i. 31.
Honorifical (rights) in the churches. Their origin, ii. 455.
Honour; principle of monarchical government, i. 32. What it is, ib. Uſeful though falſe, i. 33. Whether it takes place in deſpotic governments, i. 33. Laws of, ib. and 34. Its whims, i. 33, and 40. What actions it authoriſes or juſtifies, i. 38. The aim of military people, i. 88. (Point of) its origin, ii. 284.
Hoſpitals, their utility, ii. 156. Deſtroyed in England by *Henry* VIII. ii. 157. At Rome, ib.
Hoſpitality leſs practiſed in trading countries than among barbarians, ii. 3. Hoſpitality of the ancient Germans, ib. Laws of the Burgundian code upon this ſubject, ib.
Hugh Capet, how he obtained the crown of France, ii. 483. *& ſeq.*
Human (laws) their nature, ii. 203.
Hungary; nobility of this country how ſerviceable to the houſe of Auſtria, i. 151.
Hunting; its influence on manners, i. 50.
Huſbands; advantages they might have at Rome, ii. 142, *& ſeq.* And by the laws of the Viſigoths, i. 105. Puniſhed among the Romans for the incontinency of their wives, ii. 228. One wife permitted to have many huſbands, i. 334. Their privileges, ii. 234, *& ſeq.*

I.

Japan: its trade compared to that of Poland, ii. 20, 22. The impotency of its laws, i. 112. Its rigorous laws, i. 308. How rigidly theſe laws are obſerved, i. 112, and ii. 163.
Japaneſe, with what nations they trade, ii. 9. Their education, i. 111. What they think of pecuniary puniſhments, i. 119. What kind of children have a right to inherit in

their country, ii. 124. Cruelty of their emperors, i. 111. They hate chriſtianity, ii. 200. Why, ib.

Jaxartes, change which happened to this river, ii. 28.

Ichthyophagi, ii. 48.

Idolatry, ii. 159, and 160.

Jealouſy (two ſorts of) definition of each, i. 343.

Jews (ancient) their commerce, and how they loſt it, ii. 28, 29. How far their fleets went, ib. The end of their law, i. 197.

Jews (modern) commerce was transferred to their nation, ii. 68. They invent letters of exchange, ii. 69. Expoſed to the caprice of other nations, ii. 67, and 68. Ill uſed in England, ii. 68. Laws of the Viſigoths againſt them, ii. 262.

Illuſion or deceit, neceſſary in laying duties on merchandizes, i. 294, and 295.

Immunities, common both to clergy and laity, ii. 409. Of churches; what is underſtood thereby, ii. 404.

Impoſts. See *Taxes*.

Impunity eſtabliſhed under ſome Greek emperors, i. 122.

Incontinency contrary to nature, i. 342. Public; the conſequence of luxury, i. 140.

Indemnity, in what caſe granted by the public to private people, ii. 224. Right of indemnity, ii. 170.

India, trade which the Romans had with that country, ii. 22. Whether it was advantageous to them, ii. 62. What trade we carry on there, ii. 22. Nature of the trade of that country, i. 23. How far the Greeks penetrated into that country, ii. 43. Whether they were the firſt that traded thither, ii. 36. Anciently ſuppoſed to be uninhabitable, ii. 38. Different ways to go there, ii. 30. The ancient paſſage to that country, ib. *& ſeq.* At what time of the year they ſet out upon an India voyage, ii. 44. How long they were upon the voyage, ii. 45. Conſtruction of the veſſels of that country, ii. 31, 32.

Indians: their manners, ii. 22. Their character, ii. 37.

Their prejudices, ii. 178. Contradiction in their character, i. 299. Cauſe of their inaction, i. 289. And of their lazineſs, i. 314. Obliged to marry, ii. 126. Why their laws are ſo mild, i. 309.

Indus, river, ii. 37, and 38.

Induſtry, means of encouraging it, i. 301. Of mankind, improves the earth, i. 362.

Inequality, in a democracy, what may be the motive of eſtabliſhing it, i. 57. Exceſſive, the ſource of diſorders in an ariſtocracy, i. 64.

Infranchiſement of ſlaves, the great circumſpection it requires, i. 408.

Inheritances: in what caſe it may be forbidden to have two, i. 55.

Inquiſition (court of) whence it took its laws, ii. 252. Abuſe of this court, ii. 215.

Inquiſitor of Venice, i. 17, and 201.

Inquiſitors of Spain, &c. a remonſtrance made to them, ii. 197.

Inſtitutions of a ſingular nature, eſtabliſhed among the Cretans, i. 44. In what caſe they may be of ſervice, i. 47.

Inſtitutions of St. Lewis, how long they laſted, ii. 321. Reflection on theſe inſtitutions, ib. and 322, *& ſeq.* ii. 308. Whether the work now extant under this name be that of St. Lewis, ii. 321. Why it is attributed to him, ii. 323, 324. Defect of this compilement, ii. 325. Its good effects, ii. 326.

Inſult offered by a prince to his ſubjects, the bad conſequence that may attend it, i. 301.

Inſurrection: what it was, and by what people it was practiſed, i. 152, *& ſeq.*

Intail, or ſubſtitution, dangerous in an ariſtocracy, i. 67. Its influence on commerce, i. 68. Vulgar, i. 407. Pupillar, ib. In uſe among the Romans, ii. 343.

Intereſt (lending upon): whether it be bad in itſelf, ii. 111. Whether it be the ſame thing as uſury, ii. 112. Greater by

ſea than by land, 113. Reduced after the diſcovery of America, ii. 86.

Interpretation of laws: in what caſes it does not take place, i. 96.

Intriguing, in what caſe dangerous, i. 15. Forbidden at Rome, and upon what occaſion, i. 229.

Iſlanders. See *Iſlands*.

Iſlands (inhabitants of) their genius, i. 361.

Judges: from what order they were choſen at Rome, i. 154, and 233. Change made in this article by the Gracchi, ib. Of what condition they ought to be, i. 201. Exception againſt a certain number of them, i. 202. At what time they began to judge alone, ii. 332. The king's judges, ii. 402.

Judgments given by the prince; the ſource of abuſes, i. 101. They ought to be fixed and regulated according to the letter of the law, i. 96. Extraordinary, i. 229. How they were paſſed at Rome, i. 97. How in England, ib. How in France when the cuſtom of judicial combats prevailed, ii. 276. Manner of paſſing judgment in a monarchy, i. 97. By commiſſioners, i. 268. By peers, aboliſhed, ii. 317, *& ſeq.* By the croſs, at what time they were in uſe, ii. 252. By whom aboliſhed, ib.

Judicial power, to whom it ought to be given, i. 200. How it may be ſoftened, ib. Whether it ſhould be united to the legiſlative power, i. 206. To whom committed among the Romans, i. 228.

Julian laws, againſt adulterers, i. 137. Againſt high treaſon, i. 252. Limitations made to this law, in regard to crimes of high treaſon, i. 252, and 253.

Julian, the emperor, cauſes a famine at Antioch, ii. 88. His great qualities, ii. 167.

Juriſdiction of the lords, ii. 392. Of the counts, ii. 393, 394. Extent of the latter, ib. Territorial: How the clergy obtained it, ii. 404. Extent of the latter, ib. Patrimonial, ii. 403. Privilege of juriſdictions, its origin, ii. 401,

ii. 401. Annexed to the fiefs, ii. 402. Its antiquity, ii. 391. Whether it was uſurped by the lords, ii. 403, and 406.

Juſtice (relations of) antecedent to laws, i. 3. Examples of theſe relations, ib. (Set forms of) neceſſary to liberty, ii. 391. In what caſe they are contrary to it, ib. In what ſenſe there are too few of theſe forms, i. 95. (Set forms of) at the time of the judicial combats, ii. 261, & *ſeq.* and 263, & *ſeq.*

Juſtinian, (emperor) puts a ſtop to the ordinary courſe of juſtice, i. 102. Conſequences thereof, i. 102. He aboliſhes a law of Conſtantine, ii. 144. Laws of his enacting contrary to the Papian law, ii. 141. His laws on divorce, ii. 213. On the ſucceſſion of women, ii. 247.

K.

Kings of Rome, their authority, i. 216, & *ſeq.* Of the Franks, what they made uſe of for a diadem, i. 397. Their marriages, i. 380. When they became of age, i. 381. Why the form of majority changed, i. 382, 383. Formalities obſerved at their becoming of age, i. 381, 382. At what age they were capable of governing by themſelves, ib.

Knights, Roman, obtained the judicial power, i. 233, & *ſeq.* Bad effect of this innovation, ib. They were made farmers of the public revenues, ib.

L.

Lacedæmonians, laws which Lycurgus gave them, i. 43, and 44. Happy with their laws, i. 158. They ſubmit the laſt to the Macedonians, i. 44. End or view of their government, i. 196. How many citizens were obliged to be at their aſſemblies, i. 10. Irregular puniſhments eſtabliſhed at Lacedæmon, i. 106. Character of theſe people, i. 391.

Lands, (diviſion of) why eſtabliſhed by ancient legiſlators, i. 54. In what caſe it may take place, ib. and 60. How it may be ſupported, i. 55, and 56. Whether it was proper

to make a new one when the old one was confounded, i. 125. Re-eſtabliſhed by Servius Tullius, ii. 236. Between the Barbarians and the Romans, ii. 367. How it was regulated, ii. 399. Whether it is ſufficient that this diviſion be equal in democracies, i. 60. (Cultivation of) its advantage, ii. 79. Its relation to liberty, i. 347. State of the people who do not cultivate their lands, i. 356. (Sale of) judgment of the laws by which it is prohibited in certain countries, ii. 107. Given to the church, ii. 374. Cenſual, ii. 383. Which are beſt peopled, ii. 131.

Law, (Mr.) his ignorance both of a republican and a monarchical conſtitution, i. 21.

Laws; what they are, i. 1. Of all beings, ib. Poſſible before there were intelligent beings, i. 2. Primitive of particular intelligent beings, i. 3. Natural, i. 4. Poſitive, i. 6. Political and civil, they ought to be adapted to the people for whom they are made, i. 8, and 404. Civil, more ſimple in deſpotic government than in monarchies, i. 29. Sometimes contrary to the laws of nature, ii. 204. Criminal, leſs ſimple in monarchies and in republics, than in deſpotic governments, i. 95. Penal in point of religion, ii. 189. Their effect, ii. 190. Divine, ii. 196. Sumptuary, i. 124. Ancient French, i. 107. (Perſonal) of the Barbarians, ii. 245. Origin of theſe laws, ib. Relative to the eſtabliſhed government, i. 8. To the principle of each government, i. 24. To the diſtempers of the climate, i. 303. To the occupations of mankind, i. 363. To manners and cuſtoms, i. 404. Other relations of laws, i. 8. Conſidered in their relation to commerce, ii. 1. To money, ii. 79. To the number of inhabitants, ii. 120. By which mankind are governed, ii. 202. (Multiplicity of) uſeleſs in a deſpotic government, i. 73, and 92, *& ſeq.* Uſeful in a monarchy, i. 109. They ſupply the place of virtue in a monarchy, i. 30. (Stile of) what ſort it ought to be, ii. 351. (Compoſition of) rules to be obſerved therein, ii. 352, *& ſeq.* How they become uſeleſs, ii. 355. Whether

ther thoſe which appear the ſame have always the ſame effects, ii. 341. Whether they have always the ſame motive, ii. 343. Good, whether they always produce good effects, i. 426. Whether they ought to correct every thing, i. 419. Contrary to the views of the legiſlator, ii. 340. Which deprive a ſingle perſon of liberty, to preſerve it for the whole community, i. 262. Prohibiting people from keeping above a certain ſum of money in their houſes, ii. 331.

Law of nations; whether all countries have one, i. 7. Why it is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved by deſpotic princes, as by others, i. 7. The only one followed by people who do not cultivate the earth, i. 366.

Laws of the Lombards, ii. 242. Idea of thoſe laws, ii. 252.

Laws of judical combats, ii. 260, *& ſeq.*

Lazineſs of people; its cauſe and effects, i. 392. Of the ſoul, from whence it riſes, ii. 170.

Learning, dangerous in a deſpotic government, i. 41.

Legiſlative body; whether it ought to be always aſſembled, i. 205. Whether it can aſſemble of itſelf, ib. Whether it has a right to ſtay the executive power, i. 206. Whether it ſhould have a right of judging the executive power, i. 207. Its authority, with regard to the levying of money, i. 210. With regard to the armies, i. 211. To whom intruſted at Rome, i. 225.

Legiſlators; how they confine man to his duty, i. 4. With what ſpirit they ought to compoſe their laws, i. 51, and ii. 324. What they ought to do in regard to the vices of the climate, i. 298. What regard they ought to have for the nature of things, ii. 356. Their paſſions influence their laws, ii. 359.

Lending at intereſt, ii. 110. Whether it be lawful, ii. 111, and 116. By contract, ii. 112. See *Intereſt*.

Lenity; the effect of mediocrity: in what government it is to be found, i. 106.

Lepers; laws of Rotharis againſt them, i. 304.

Leproſy; in what countries it was known, i. 304. Laws of the Jews upon this ſubject, from whence borrowed, ib. By whom brought into Europe, ib. & *ſeq.*

Lewis (Saint) aboliſhes judicial combats, ii. 308. Changes the law-proceedings of his time, ii. 309. His inſtitutions, ib. and 323. See *Inſtitutions.* His regulations with regard to the courts of the barons, ii. 308. How they were received, ii. 309. He cauſes the books of the Roman law to be tranſlated, ii. 309, and 310.

Liberty; abuſe of it, i. 286. Reſtored to the Romans by Sylla, i. 26. Natural to the northern nations, ii. 23. Inſupportable to ſome nations, i. 387. Extreme, dangerous, i. 146. Of commerce, in what it conſiſts, ii. 11. How deſtroyed ib. Political; its different ſignifications, i. 195. In what it conſiſts, i. 196. Its relation to the conſtitution of the government, i. 195, and 196. Its relation to the ſubject, i. 2[illegible], & *ſeq.* Civil, whether it always follows political liberty, i. 241, 271. Philoſophical, in what it conſiſts, i. 241.

Licinian (law;) the deſign of it, i. 135, and ii. 116.

Litigious people, roughly handled in Turkey, and why, i. 95.

Lords, obliged to adminiſter juſtice, ii. 304, and 305, 408, & *ſeq.* How appealed of default of juſtice, ii. 291. How they pleaded againſt their vaſſals, ib. & *ſeq.* Obliged to defend the judgment of their court before the lord paramont, ii. 313. How they loſt their privileges, ii. 334. Whether they judged alone, ii. 393. Origin of their juriſdiction, ii. 401.

Lot (ſuffrage of:) defective in itſelf, i. 13. Amended by great legiſlators, ib. Ought not to take place in an ariſtocracy, i. 16.

Lucca, for how long the magiſtrates of this republic are choſen, i. 18.

Luxury; ſupport of commerce in a monarchical government, ii. 4. (Source of) ii. 26, and i. 122, & *ſeq.* (Effect of) i. 123. (Commerce of) anciently eſtabliſhed in Aſia, ii. 26. (Proportion of) to the riches of the ſtate, i. 122, & *ſeq.*

To

To the bigneſs of towns, i. 123. (Bad effect of) in a democracy, i. 124. Its progreſs among the Romans, i. 125. Neceſſary in a monarchy, i. 126 and 127. And in deſpotic ſtates, i. 127. Neceſſary in England and France, i. 123. Of religion, ii. 193.

Licians; idea of their republic, i. 167. Their republic compared to that of Holland, i. 168.

Lycurgus; judgment of his laws, i. 44. What they ſuppoſe, i. 47. Their effects. i. 63. Compared to Mr. Penn, i. 45.

Lydians; ſubdued by Cyrus, how treated by this prince, i. 185.

Lye, puniſhed with death in Japan, i. 110. Why to give the lye is reckoned an affront, ii. 276.

Lyſander; how he treats the Athenians whom he had taken priſoners, i. 109. The reaſon he gives for his conduct, i. 109.

M.

Machiavel; to what cauſe he attributes the loſs of the liberty of Florence, i. 98.

Machiaveliſm: we begin to recover from it every day, ii. 69.

Machines, uſeful for ſupplying the labour of man, i. 318. Whether thoſe which render the manufactures more ſimple are always uſeful, ii. 129.

Magicians odious to ſociety, i. 246. A certain magician puniſhed in conſequence of a revelation made to a biſhop, i. 247.

Magiſtracy, how its power may be compounded, i. 17. Its duration, how fixed by a legiſlator, i. 18. Whether a ſubject ſhould be forced to accept of it, i. 87. Civil, and military, i. 89.

Magiſtrates ſubject to the laws in democracy, i. 25. Of Athens, examined before and after their magiſtracy, i. 14. In what government a ſingle magiſtrate may be allowed, i. 103.

Mahomet: his law in regard to reconciliations, ii. 173. To the

the uſe of wine, i. 302. Whether this law is proper for northern climates, i. 302.

Mahometans: why they puſhed on their conqueſts with ſo much eaſe, i. 302. Zealous for their religion, ii. 204. They pervert the uſe of ſlavery, i. 310. Their contemplative life, ii. 167.

Majority, or becoming of age, begins earlier in warm countries, i. 81.

Man, (laws of) how they are invariable, i. 4. His ſtate conſidered as that of an intelligent being, ib. Conſidered after the eſtabliſhment of ſociety, i. 6. Born to pleaſe his fellow-creatures, i. 57. Of honour, what is underſtood by this word in a monarchy, i. 39.

Manners or cuſtoms: what they are, i. 394 and 395. They are unalterable in China, i. 395. How they may be changed, i. 396.

Manours, ii. 378.

Manufactures, always uſeful, ii. 131.

Maritime affairs, how conſidered by the Romans, ii. 57. And how by us, ib.

Marriage between the neareſt relation and the heireſs, why ordained among ſome nations, i. 55. Where it took place, ib. Between brother and ſiſter ordained at Athens, i. 56. And with what view, ib. Between patricians and plebeians forbidden by a law, i. 65. Defect of that law, i. 66. Why eſtabliſhed, ii. 121. Its advantage for propagation, ib. What induces people to it, ii. 128. How deſpotic princes abuſe it, i. 79. Subject to the laws of religion and to the civil laws, ii. 215. Conſent of parents neceſſary for contracting it, ii. 125. Forbidden, ii. 217. Laws of the Romans to encourage it, ii. 136, 137. Of ſavages, and paſtoral people, i. 366. Till what age they were allowed to marry at Rome, ii. 143.

Marſeilles, its ſituation, ii. 6. Character of its inhabitants, ii. 6. Rival of Carthage, ii. 55. Why ſo faithful to the Romans, ii. 55. Its riches are increaſed by the ruin of Carthage

Carthage and Corinth, ib. Its conſtitution commended, i. 146.

Mayor: (dignity of) rendered for life, ii. 425. Its origin, ii. 434. How united to the regal dignity, ii. 456, 457. The king's mayors diſtinct from the mayors of the kingdom, ii. 431. Mayors of the palace; their original authority, ii. 434. What they were afterwards, and at the end of the firſt race, ii. 431, and 410, & *ſeq.* Their behaviour towards the nobility, ii. 434, & *ſeq.*

Medals plated; what they are, ii. 105.

Men (number of) relative to the cultivation of lands, i. 364. Free, to whom this name was uſually given, ii. 387. Their ſituation in the French monarchy, ii. 361. Their military ſervice, ii. 387. Rights of the prince in reſpect to them, ii. 393. How they were ſeized of fiefs, ii. 402 and 403.

Merchants: in what government they have need of a ſafeguard, i. 281. Why they are more enterprizing in republics than in monarchies, ii. 5. (Companies of) in what government they are proper, ii. 8. Whether they are always advantageous, ii. 9. Conſtrained in favour of commence, ii. 9. Whether it is proper they ſhould be admitted to purchaſe a title of nobility, ii. 18.

Metal, moſt proper for a common meaſure, ii .82.

Metempſichoſis, ii. 177, 180.

Metius Suffetius, dictator of Alba; his puniſhment, i. 114.

Migration of the nothern nations, i. 360.

Military employments; whether they ought to be joined with civil employments; in the ſame perſon, i. 88. Government eſtabliſhment by the emperors, i. 115. (Men) ought to be checked, i. 88.

Militia, French, in the earlieſt times of the monarchy, ii. 389.

Mills (water) ii. 133.

Mine of precious ſtones, diſcovered in China; why ſhut up, i. 131. Of ſilver in Spain, ii. 53. In the Pyrenean mountains, ib. Of Germany and Hungary, i. 318 and ii. 79. Of America, ii. 74, & *ſeq.* and 86. How the Indians extract

tract the gold from thence, ii. 76. Calculation of their product, ii. 78. Their uſe, ib. *& ſeq.*

Miniſters abler in monarchies than in deſpotic government, i. 35. They ought not to be judges, i. 102.

Minority long at Rome, i. 63. Why, ib.

Minos: his laws; what they ſuppoſe, i. 47. His maritime power, ii. 33.

Moderation, what it is, i. 29 and 64. Neceſſary in an ariſtocracy, ib. Of the Romans in puniſhments, i. 115.

Modeſty violated in the puniſhment of crimes among a certain people, and under Tiberius, i. 257. Of ſlaves ſecured by laws, i. 320, 321. Natural, i. 342.

Monarchs, compared to the ſea, ii. 20. Happier than deſpotic princes, 72. Whether they ought to ſit in judgment themſelves, i. 100, 101, and 217. How they ought to govern, i. 268. Regard which they owe to their ſubjects, i. 269.

Monarchy; its laws relative to the conſtitution, i. 19. Nature of its government, ib. Its advantage over republics, i. 70. And over a deſpotic government, i. 71. Its excellency, ib. Its diſtinctive properties, i. 159. Its end or view, i. 197. Its felicity, 268. Neceſſity of the intermediate powers, &c. in a monarchy, i. 19 and 71. Neceſſity of a depoſitary of the laws in a monarchy, i. 21. How it is corrupted, i. 148. Conſequences of this corruption, i. 149, 150. How it provides for its ſecurity, i. 169. Whether it ought to make conqueſts, i. 180. Whether the ancients had a right idea of it, i. 213 and 214. How monarchies were formed, i. 214. ii. 248. Univerſal, whether it be advantageous to prince to aim at it, 172. Antient monarchies of Greece, i. 215. How the three powers were there diſtributed, i. 216. Monarchy of the kings of Rome, i. 217. How the three powers were there diſtributed, 218. French, why hereditary, ii. 484.

Monaſteries, ii. 191.

Money; whether the raiſing of it ought to be intruſted to the executive

executive power, i. 218. Its neceſſity, ii. 81. Its uſe, ii. 82, & *ſeq.* Antient of the Athenians, ii. 82. And of the Romans, ib. Ideal and real; definition of each, ii. 84. Ideal; why ſubſtituted in the place of real, ii. 85. Real, in what caſe preferable to the other, ib. (Variations of) dangerous, ii. 86 and 100. (Re-coining of) its effects with regard to the exchange, ii. 98. With regard to the ſtate, ii. 100. With regard to the ſpecie, ib. Altered under ſeveral emperors, ii. 105. Proceedings of the Romans with reſpect to money, ii. 101, and 105.

Monks; cauſe of their attachment to their order, i. 52. Of their being inclinable to ſeverity, i. 106. Deſtroyed by Henry VIII. ii. 151. In what country their inſtitution began, i. 299.

Monſoons, they prevail in the Indian ſeas, ii. 44.

Morality, (laws of) recall mankind to themſelves, i. 4. Are agreeable to thoſe of religion, ii. 164.

Morals, never ſo pure in monarchies as in republican governments, i. 37. What crimes are prejudicial to them, i. 242, & *ſeq.* How they ought to be puniſhed, 243. Leſs ſtrict now than formerly, 133, 134. Morals or manners of nations, what they are, i. 398. (Change of,) cauſe of revolutions, i. 394. Diſtinct from laws and cuſtoms, i. 398.

Mortmain, (lands in,) their origin, ii. 373.

Moſes; wiſdom of his laws, ii. 186. His laws with regard to ſlaves, i. 326.

Mother-Country, conſidered in relation to its colony, ii. 72. Its trade with the colony, ii. 79.

Moveable effects; in what they conſiſt, ii. 19. To whom they belong, ib.

Mountains of ſilver, ii. 53.

Murder, how puniſhed among the antient Greeks, ii. 174.

Muſcovites, why they ſell themſelves, i. 316.

Muſcovy, its laws an obſtruction to its trade, ii. 106. Its conſtitution in regard to the ſucceſſion to the empire, i. 78.

(Emperors

(Emperors of,) endeavour to moderate their deſpotic power, i. 76.

Muſic; its influence on manners, i. 48, & *ſeq.* On ſouls, i. 50. Neceſſary among the Greeks, i. 51.

N

Nations; how they ought to act towards one another in peace and war, i. 7.

Navigation of the ancients, how far it proceeded, ii. 45. Its progreſs, ib. & *ſeq.* Of Europe, its influence on the number of inhabitants of Europe, ii. 153. On rivers, forbidden by the antient law of the Gabres, ii. 182.

Negroes; whether we have a right to enſlave them, i. 315. Of the coaſt of Africa, what ſort of money they make uſe of, ii. 89.

Nero (the emperor,) forms a project of aboliſhing all impoſts, i. 291. Whether he aboliſhed the duty of the five and twentieth part ariſing from the ſale of ſlaves, i. 279.

Nobility: they are inveſted with the whole authority in an ariſtocracy, i. 16. A ſenate is neceſſary among them, ib. Functions of the ſenate, ib. How they reſtrain the people in an ariſtocratical government, i. 28. How they may reſtrain themſelves, 29. Whether they ought to affect external diſtinctions, i. 63. Whether it is proper that they ſhould collect the taxes in an ariſtocracy, i. 65. Means of making them avoid extreme poverty and exorbitant riches. i. 67. What ſhare they ought to have in the diſtribution of the three powers, i. 204, & *ſeq.* By whom they ought to be tried, i. 208. Diſtinct from the *ingenui* and the ſlaves, ii. 341. They are eſſential to a monarchy, i. 19. The relation they ſtand in to the monarch, ib. What is moſt ſtrongly recommended to them by honour, i. 40. Whether they ought to be permitted to trade, i. 66, and ii. 17. They are the child and parent of honour, i. 69. They are the bond that connects the prince and his people, ib.

ib. They are the ſupport of the throne, i. 151. French, their ſituation, ii. 17, 18. Their antiquity, ii. 415.

Nobleneſs requiſite in our virtues, i. 37.

Normans; their depredations put an end to the diſputes of the clergy and the nobility, ii. 469.

North (people of the,) compared to thoſe of the ſouth, i. 292, *& ſeq.* and ii. 23, 24. Their temperament, i. 326, *& ſeq.* How they are actuated by love, i. 330. They make an admirable ſtand againſt the Romans, and at length ſubvert that empire, i. 298. Why ſo much inhabited, i. 360.

O.

Oath, how greatly regarded by the Romans, i. 155. (Trial by,) in what caſe it might be uſed, i. 405. By what laws it was authoriſed, ii. 270, *& ſeq.* Maintained by the clergy, ii. 277, *& ſeq.*

Obedience, different in moderate and deſpotic governments, i. 34. Recommended by honour, in monarchies, i. 39. What limits are preſcribed to it by honour, i. 40. The moſt paſſive, in what government it is requiſite, i. 34. What it ſuppoſes both in him that commands, and in him that obeys, i. 41.

Oeconomy, the ſupport of commerce in republics, ii. 4, 5. (Commerce of,) in what it conſiſts, ii. 4. Whether it is proper for monarchies, ii. 4, 5. Nations that have carried on this commerce, ii. 6. Their origin, ib. Whether it is proper to reſtrain this commerce, ii. 7. Inſtitutions adapted to this commerce, ii. 8, 9.

Old men honoured at Sparta, i. 60.

Oppian law; the deſign of it, i. 140. Ferment in the ſenate upon the womens inſiſting on the revocation of this law, ib.

Orders, of a deſpotic prince, can neither be eluded nor contradicted, i. 35.

Oſtraciſm; according to what law it ought to be conſidered, ii. 226, and 328. Againſt whom it was uſed at Athens, ii. 227. Miſchief it did at Syracuſe, ii. 342.

Oxus, (river,) its ancient ſtate, ii. 27. Why it runs no longer into the Caſpian ſea, ii. 27.

P.

Paper; its uſe in regard to money, ii. 82.

Papian law, enacted under Auguſtus, ii. 140. Softened by Tiberius, ii. 145. The deſign of it, ii. 245, 246.

Paradox of the ancients in regard to manners explained, i. 48, *& ſeq.*

Paraguay propoſed for a model, i. 45.

Paramount, (lords,) how the right of juriſdiction devolved to them, ii. 299. Appeal to their court, ii. 303, *& ſeq.*

Pardon of a criminal muſt never be mentioned to the king of Perſia, i. 35. The power of granting it, to whom it belongs, i. 100. How it is loſt, i. 101. Its effects, ib. Letters of, i. 119.

Parliament, (French,) what kind of juriſdiction it had formerly, ii. 327. Made a permanent or fixed body, ii. 327. Origin of different parliaments, ii. 327.

Paſſions deſcend from father to ſon, i. 44.

Patricians; their privileges under the kings of Rome, i. 219. Raiſe the jealouſy of the Plebeians, i. 220. Humbled by Servius Tullius, i. 220.

Peace; in what caſe it would be the firſt law of nature, i. 5. Between the Muſcovites and the Turks; motive which hurried the Turks to conclude it, i. 75. Between Gelo king of Syracuſe and the Carthaginians, 180. The natural effect of commerce, ii. 2.

Peculation. See *Embezzlement*.

Peers, were made a party in the appeal, ii. 297. Why, ib. Their fate if overcome, ii. 298, 299. Appealed of default of juſtice ii. 304, 305.

Pegu: principal points of the religion of this country, ii. 165.

Penn, (Mr.) compared to Lycurgus, i. 45. The principal aim of his laws, i. 46.

Penance: ii. 168.

Peneſtes, ſlaves of the Theſſalians, i. 49.

People, in a democracy, inveſted with the ſovereign power, i. 10. What they ought to do themſelves, i. 10, and 42. What by miniſters, ib. They ought to have the chuſing of their miniſters, i. 11. And of the ſenators, ib. Their diſcernment, ib. and i. 203. Whether they are capable of the adminiſtration themſelves, i. 12. (The lower ſort of,) ought to be directed by thoſe of a higher rank, i. 15. They act through paſſion, i. 15. How the diviſion of the people into certain claſſes influences the government, i. 14. Whether they have a right to make laws, and on what occaſion, i. 15. In an ariſtocracy, what ſhare they ought to have in government, i. 16. Of whom they receive the laws, i. 28. They ought to know what becomes of the public money, i. 65. Difficult for them to be virtuous in a monarchy, i. 30. Under a deſpotic prince they are in a ſtate of ſlavery, i. 73. Cauſe of their corruption, i. 146. Their ſafety is the ſupreme law, ii. 231.

Pepin, (king,) under what pretence he makes himſelf maſter of Neuſtria and Burgundy, ii. 429. He becomes maſter of the monarchy, ib. His laws in favour of the clergy, ii. 447. Divides his kingdom among his children, ii. 458.

Pepins, (the family of the,) ſhew a regard to the clergy, ii. 414.

Periecians, manured the land for the Cretans, i. 49.

Perſia, (kings of,) their orders are irrevocable, i. 35. (Cuſtom of,) with regard to going out of the kingdom, i. 272.

Perſians; the extent of their empire, ii. 36. Their power reduced by the Greeks, ib. Their commerce, ii. 37, 38.

Phœnicians, their trade; it renders them neceſſary to all other nations, ii. 29.

Philo; explication of a paſſage of this author, concerning the marriages of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, i. 55.

Phyſicians, puniſhed at Rome for their negligence, ii. 350.

Plague, common in Egypt, i. 305. Laws to prevent its ſpreading, ib. Behaviour of the Turks in this reſpect, ib.

Plato; judgment of his laws, i. 44, and 47. His opinion of of muſic confirmed by Ariſtotle, i. 48. Of preſents, i. 85. Of the venality of employments, i. 89. His complaints in regard to trade, ii. 2. What he ſays of trading towns, ii. 16.

Plebeians; they were made capable of being raiſed to public offices at Rome, i. 12. and yet rarely choſen, ib. and i. 155. At what time they obtained the privilege f judging the patricians, i. 223. How they made themſelves maſters of the ſuffrages, i. 222, 223.

Plebiſcita; what they were, i. 225.

Plutarch; his opinion in regard to muſic, i. 48. What he ſays of the Thebans, i. 45.

Poets, (ſatirical,) puniſhed with death by the decemvirs, i. 114.

Poland; judgment of its government, i. 19. View or end of its laws, i. 197. Its riches and commerce, ii. 18, 19.

Police; its regulations diſtinct from the civil laws, ii. 215. The deſign of it, ib.

Politeneſs neceſſary in our behaviour, i. 39. From whence it is derived, i. 39. Where it is moſt generally to be found, ib. It is as pleaſing to thoſe by whom, as to thoſe towards whom it is practiſed, i. 40.

Political law, its definition, i. 7. State, what it is, ib. Power, what it comprehends, i. 8. Body, depoſitary of the laws in a monarchy, i. 22. Laws, diſtinct from the civil laws and the laws of nations, ii. 229.

Polygamy, its relation to the climate, i. 334. Occaſion of luxury, i. 334. Whether it is uſeful to mankind, i. 336. Bad effect of polygamy, ib. *et ſeq.* When once eſtabliſhed in a country, it ought not to be aboliſhed without ſome precautions, ii. 215.

Pontificate, diſtinct from the empire, ii. 193.

Pork forbidden in certain countries, uſed in others, ii. 181.

Port, (free,) uſeful in an œconomical commerce, ii. 11.

Portions,

Portions, or doweries of women, different in different governments, i. 140.

Portugueſe; they diſcover the moſt ſouthern point of Africa, ii. 70. Their trade to the Eaſt Indies, ib. They meet the Spaniards, ii. 71.

Poverty of the people, ii. 3. How many ſorts there are, ib. Effects of each, ib. Of the ſubjects, whether it contributes to render families more numerous, ii. 129. In what it conſiſts, ii. 20, 21.

Power different in a deſpotic prince and a monarch, i. 37. Has need of being checked, i. 197. Three ſorts of power in a ſtate, i. 198. Whether they ought to be united in the ſame perſon or the ſame body, i. 198. Effect of this union, i. 199. Effect of their diſunion, i. 200. To whom they ought to be intruſted, i. 203, *et ſeq.* How diſtributed in England, i. 198, *et ſeq.* How in the Roman republic, i. 221. and 234. In the Roman provinces, i. 237, *et ſeq.*

Power of reſolving and rejecting, what is underſtood by it, i. 204. In whoſe hands it ought to be lodged, ib. *et ſeq.* Its uſe, ib. and 208.

Power of redemption, dangerous in an ariſtocracy, i. 68. Uſeful in monarchies, i. 69. At what time it could take place, ii. 478.

Prætors; they adviſe new forms of actions, i. 98. They ſucceed the conſuls as judges, i. 229. How they adminiſtered juſtice, i. 230.

Precepts; what is underſtood by them, ii. 429. Their uſe, ib. By whom aboliſhed, ii. 439. Abuſe made of them, ii. 467. *& ſeq.*

Precepts of religion, diſtinct from counſels, ii. 164.

Prerogatives of the nobility, whether it is proper they ſhould be communicated to the common people, i. 69.

Preſents; uſed in deſpotic governments, i. 84, 85. Odious in monarchies and republics, i. 95. Law of the Romans upon this ſubject, i. 95.

Preſumption of the law, ii. 355. Of the judges, ib.

Price of things, how it may be fixed, ii. 87.

Pride, is the cauſe of our politeneſs, i. 38. Of courtiers, its cauſe, and different degrees, i. 39. Dangerous in a government, i. 391.

Prieſts, why inſtituted, ii. 188. Their functions, ii. 189. Separate from the reſt of mankind, ib.

Primogeniture. See *Seniority*.

Princes, the ſource of all power in a monarchy, i. 19. In what their real power conſiſts, i. 171. Whether it is proper for them to engage in commerce, ii. 16. Their authority in fixing the value of money, ii. 90. Their reſpective ſituation compared to one another, ii. 228.

Principle of government, diſtinct from its nature, i. 24. Of democracy, i. 25. Of ariſtocracy, i. 28. Of monarchy, i. 31. Of deſpotic government, i. 34. Effects reſulting from the goodneſs and corruption of the principles of government, i. 51, and 155, *&c. ſeq.* How they are corrupted, i. 140, *&c. ſeq.* Means of preſerving them, i. 157, 161, *&c. ſeq.*

Priſoner, (a deſpotic prince;) loſes all his authority, i. 75.

Privileges of the nobility, whether it is proper they ſhould be communicated to the common people, i. 69.

Privileges, neceſſary in monarchies, i. 93. Excluſive, are not always proper in trade, ii. 10, 17.

Probity of the Roman people, i. 106.

Proceedings at law formerly public, ii. 315. How they became ſecret, ib. Epocha of this change, ii. 316.

Proceſs between the Portugueſe and Spaniards; on what occaſion, ii. 71. By whom adjudged, ib.

Profeſſions; each has its particular lot, i. 291. Whether it is proper that every ſon ſhould continue in the ſame profeſſion as his father, ii. 18. Whether this will make him ſucceed better in it, ib.

Proof, negative, in what law admitted, ii. 270, *&c. ſeq.* and 271. Rejected by the ſpiritual courts, ii. 281, 282. Is the

the occaſion of the cuſtom of judicial combats, ii. 272, and 281. Inſufficiency of this proof, ii. 278, *& ſeq.*

Propagation of mankind, how it may be encouraged by legiſlators, ii. 133. Of religion, obſtacles it may meet with, ii. 200.

Proſcriptions; i. 260.

Proſecutor, (public,) unknown to the ancients, ii. 318, *& ſeq.* His function, ib. At what time this office began, ii. 320.

Proſtitution, contrary to propagation, ii. 122, *& ſeq.*

Public good, in what place it ought to take place of that of the individual, ii. 223.

Puniſhments; their difference in regard to the nobleman and the peaſant, i. 107. In what caſe aboliſhed at Rome, 107, and 115. Exceſſive, their imperfection, i. 111. They are connected with the nature of the government, 114. Divided into three claſſes, i. 116. Their nature ought to be proportioned to that of the crimes, i. 116, *& ſeq.* and 241. Pecuniary, i. 102. Corporeal, ib. Againſt the incontinency of women, i. 138. Of death; why lawful, i. 312. Againſt celibacy, ii. 142. Againſt unlawful marriages, ii. 145. Different againſt falſe witneſſes, ii. 346. Reaſon of this difference, ib. *& ſeq.* Conduct of legiſlators in reſpect to puniſhments, i. 105. Too frequently are the forerunners of revolutions in China, ib. In what countries puniſhments ought to be more or leſs ſevere, i. 105. Abuſe that may be made of them, i. 108. Of breaking on the wheel, why invented, i. 108. Whether it has the deſired effect, ib. Whether they ought to be the ſame for thoſe who only rob, and thoſe who add murder to robbery, i. 118. Their effect, i. 400.

Q.

Queſtions, in regard to the relation of laws to the principle of government, i. 87. Solution of theſe queſtions, ib. *& ſeq.* Perpetual, what they were, i. 136. and 232, 233. Effect of their eſtabliſhment, in regard to the domeſtic tribunal, i. 136.

i. 136. Of fact, by whom determined at Rome, i. 229. Of right, by whom judged, i. 230.

Queſtors, choſen at Rome to adminiſter juſtice, i. 231, 232. What ſhare the ſenate had in the nomination of the queſtors, i. 232. Of parricide, i. 233.

R.

Rack, or torture, of criminals; whether it is abſolutely neceſſary, i. 118. This practice rejected in England, ib. and ii. 327.

Raguſa; how long the magiſtrates of this city continued in their office, i. 18.

Raillery, in the mouth of a monarch, is often attended with bad conſequences, i. 270.

Reaſon, whether there is a primitive one, i. 2. Of laws; of what kind it ought to be, ii. 353, *& ſeq.*

Recalls to the ſucceſſion, inſtituted by the Salic law, i. 376, *& ſeq.*

Receivers puniſhed in the ſame manner as the thief, ii. 347, *& ſeq.* Whether this law is juſt, ib.

Reconciliations eſtabliſhed by religion, ii. 173.

Redemption, (right of,) how eſtabliſhed, ii. 436.

Regal laws at Rome, whether they were proper for the republic, i. 114. Why preſerved by the decemvirs, ib.

Regiſters, (public;) their original, ii. 345. Called *olim*, ii. 327.

Relations; laws are relations derived from the nature of things, i. 1. That of God to the univerſe, i. 2. Of his laws to his wiſdom and power, ib. Of juſtice, antecedent to the laws by which they are eſtabliſhed, i. 3.

Religion, (laws of,) remind man of his duty to God, i. 4. (Force of,) in a deſpotic government, i. 22, 35, and 76. Cauſe of this force, ib. What crimes attack it directly, i. 243. Its influence on the propagation of the human ſpecies, ii. 148. And on government in general, ii. 160. Falſe religions; which of them may be reckoned the beſt, ii. 158.

ii. 158. Chriſtian, what ſort of government is moſt agreeable to it, ii. 161. Advantage it has over all others, even in regard to this life, ii. 161. In particular over the Mahometan religion, ib. Proteſtant, what government it is moſt agreeable to, ii. 163. Why it is more ſpread in the north, ib. Of Calvin, ib. Of Luther, ib. Of the Tartars of Jengeiz Khan, ii. 170. Of the iſle of Formoſa, ib. Of the Indians, ii. 171. Mahometan, agreeable to deſpotic government, ii. 161. Falſe ones, are ſometimes corrected by the civil laws, ii. 172. (Laws of,) how they have the effect of civil laws, ii. 174. What they ought to inſpire, ii. 178. (Local laws of,) ii. 178. (Tranſplanting of a,) from one country to another, ii. 160. Motives of attachment to different religions, ii. 181. (Toleration of,) ii. 193. Commanded in certain nations, ii. 201. (Laws of,) ſubordinate to the laws of nature, ii. 211. Whether they can regulate the civil law, ii. 211, 212. Its influence on marriages, ii. 215, *& ſeq.*

Remonſtrances, whether they are permitted in a deſpotic government, i. 34. Their uſe in monarchies, i. 70.

Renunciation of the ſucceſſion to the crown, ii. 231, 232.

Repreſentatives choſen by the people, i. 202, 203. For what reaſon, ib. Advantage accruing from thence, i. 204. Whether they ought to be accountable to their conſtituents, ib. What they ought to be choſen for, i. 206.

Republic, is divided into an ariſtocracy and democracy, i. 10, 11. Definition of each of theſe governments, ib. How it becomes a monarchy, i. 16, 17. If a ſmall one, whether it can often change its magiſtrates, i. 18. The neglect of its laws is a mark of imminent deſtruction, i. 25. Whether the people in a republic are always virtuous, i. 36. How it is corrupted, i. 147. Means of remedying its corruption, i. 155. Its diſtinctive properties, i. 158. Whether it be to her advantage to enlarge her territory, ib. Whether ſhe can preſerve her conqueſts, i. 237. Trading, an excellent law for her, i. 59. Of Greece, how many ſorts

ſorts there were, i. 59. Spirit of thoſe republics, i. 151. 156. Why they flouriſhed ſo long, i. 166. Confederate; what is meant by it, i. 165. Advantages ariſing from it, i. 166. Whether one of the confederate ſtates can conclude an alliance without the conſent of the others, i. 168. Whether it can make a conqueſt over another, i. 181. Ancient republics, a great fault they were ſubject to, i. 202.

Repudiation, (right of,) granted to men and not to women, i. 344. Injuſtice of this inequality, ib. Common at Athens between man and wife, i. 345. In what caſe it cannot take place, i. 344. When the Romans made uſe of it, i. 346. For what cauſe the emperors permitted women to uſe this privilege, i. 407.

Reſcripts of the Roman emperors, ii. 357, 358. Fault found with them, ib. Refuſed by ſome princes, ib. Aboliſhed and re-eſtabliſhed, ib.

Retaliation, (puniſhment of,) in what countries it is moſt uſed, i. 119. Limitations made therein by the law of the twelve tables, i. 120.

Revealing of conſpiracies, in what caſe neceſſary, i. 259. The crime of not revealing puniſhed in Japan, i. 260.

Revenge forbidden after ſatisfaction received, ii. 398.

Revenues of the ſtate, how they ought to be fixed, i. 273, 274.

Revolution of a ſtate, how it happens, i. 61. Whether it is always attended with war, i. 72. Reſtores the laws to their due vigour, i. 221.

Rewards, exceſſive, mark of the decline of ſtates, i. 86, 87. Judgment of thoſe which were granted by certain emperors, i. 87.

Rhodes; end or view of its law, i. 198.

Rice employs a great number of men, ii. 131.

Richelieu (cardinal) his opinion concerning the choice of miniſters, i. 30. Inſinuates deſpotic government, i. 71.

Riches: whether they are always the cauſe of the corruption of manners, i. 58, 59. In what caſe this happens, ib. Of the Roman people, i. 65. To what uſe they were applied in the Greek republics, i. 126. Of a ſtate, their effect and cauſe, i. 274, and ii. 26. Of women, the cauſe of luxury, ii. 248.

Ripuarian Franks: their law different from that of the Salian Franks, ii. 270.

Robbery: how puniſhed at Rome in freemen, ii. 346. And in ſlaves, ii. 347. Open, puniſhed differently from the private, ii. 346, *& ſeq.* Reaſon and origin of this proceeding, ii. 347, *& ſeq.*

Robe. See *Gown.*

Romans, how divided by Servius Tullius, i. 12, 13. How they ſecure their liberty, i. 215. They loſe their liberty under the decemvirs, i. 224. How they recover it, ib. Particular cauſes that procured and aſcertained their liberty, i. 264, 265. They retire to the Janiculum, and upon what occaſion, i. 265. Their laws in regard to divorce, i. 345. Force of an oath among theſe people, i. 155. Their genius with reſpect to maritime affairs, ii. 58. With reſpect to commerce, ii. 58. Motives of their wars againſt the Carthaginians, ii. 59. Their political conſtitution contrary to commerce, ib. Extent of their empire, ii. 60. They avoid trading with Barbarians, ib. Their internal and external commerce, ii. 61, *& ſeq.* Their proceedings with reſpect to money, ii. 101. In what circumſtances they changed the value of their ſpecie, ii. 113. Their laws on uſury and lending at intereſt, ii. 114, *& ſeq.* State and number of the ſeveral nations before they were conquered, ii. 135. Effects of their conquering the univerſe, ii. 136. Their laws to promote the propagation of the human ſpecies, ii. 137. Their deſtruction plunges the univerſe once more into barbariſm, ii. 151. Their laws on ſucceſſions, ii. 234. From whence they are derived, ib. *& ſeq.* They ſhew themſelves wiſer than the Greeks in the

the puniſhment of tyrants, i. 260. How they put a ſtop to the devaſtations of the Barbarians, ii. 363. Their ſituation under the Franks, ii. 368.

Rome: the number of citizens that compoſed its meetings was not fixed; inconveniency which thence aroſe, i. 11. Was at firſt a friend of ariſtocracy, i. 17. How judgment was pronounced in this city in criminal matters, i. 97. View of its government, i. 197. Its ſtate under the kings, i. 217, *& ſeq.* And after their expulſion, i. 219.

Romulus: his laws in regard to the expoſing of children, ii. 150.

Rules by which the world is governed, i. 2. What theſe are, ib. General in regard to commerce, ii. 5.

S.

Sacred (laws) allowed the plebeians the privilege of chuſing tribunes, i. 231.

Sacrileges, ſimple, puniſhments eſtabliſhed againſt them, i. 243. Secret, whether they ought to be puniſhed, i. 243. Bad application of the name of ſacrilege, i. 250.

Salic lands: what is underſtood by them, i. 373, *& ſeq.* Whether they are the ſame thing as fiefs, i. 378.

Salic laws: explication of a paſſage of theſe laws, i. 372. At what time they were compiled, ii. 249. Changes they received, ib. *& ſeq.* Difference between them and the laws of the Viſigoths, &c. ii. 254. Whether they were eſtabliſhed in Burgundy among the Goths, ii. 258, *& ſeq.*

Salt; trade with it in Africa, ii. 81.

Samnites: how they made ſo long a ſtand againſt the Romans, i. 44. Their origin, i. 142. A cuſtom of theirs with regard to marriage, i. 142.

Saracens invade Gaul, ii. 262.

Sardinia (king of) his behaviour to thoſe who refuſed to accept of public employments, i. 87.

Sardinia iſland: its ancient ſtate, i. 360, 361. And under the Carthaginians, i. 361.

Satisfactions ordained by the laws of the Barbarians, ii. 394, *& ſeq.* Laws againſt thoſe who refuſe to give or to accept of ſatisfaction, ii. 396, 397. See *Compoſition.*

Savages extremely timid, i. 5.

Saxons; their laws in regard to the ſatisfaction for injuries, ii. 84. Laws given them by Charlemagne, ii. 250. Their character, ii. 251.

Scarcity, relative, of gold and ſilver, ii. 90. Effect of this ſcarcity, ii. 91, 92. Real, ii. 90.

School of honour, where it is, i. 37.

Sea, Caſpian: what the ancients thought of it, ii. 43. Red, what people traded there, ii. 29. Indian, when diſcovered, ii. 30. Seleucidian, ii. 42. Of Antiochus, ib.

Security of the ſubject: on what laws it depends, i. 241. Crimes that diſturb it, how puniſhed, i. 243.

Seizing of the perſons of merchants: law of Solon upon this ſubject, ii. 13. Whether this be a good law, ib. In what caſe it is right, ii. 14.

Seleucus Nicator: what project he formed: this project examined, ii. 28.

Semiramis: concluſion which may be drawn from her immenſe treaſures, ii. 26.

Senate: neceſſary in a democracy, i. 11. Whether it is proper that they ſhould have the power to enact laws, i. 15. Of Rome, how their decrees had the force of a perpetual law, i. 15. Their authority under the kings, i. 217. And after their expulſion, i. 219. Of Athens, diſtinct from the Areopagus, i. 61. Of Syracuſe, i. 145.

Senators: whether they ought to have a right of replacing the deficient members of the ſenate, i. 17. Whether they ought to be for life, i. 62.

Seniority or primogeniture (right of) ought not to take place in an ariſtocracy, i. 68. How it was eſtabliſhed among the Franks, ii. 485.

Service (double) of the vaſſals to their counts, ii. 391.

Servitude. See. *Slavery.*

Servitudes: they were common in France, ii. 369, *& ſeq.*

Servius Tullius: diviſion he made of the Roman people, i. 12, 13. He alters the conſtitution of Rome, i. 218.

Sexes (the difference of) invites mankind to aſſociate, i. 6. Their inequality relative to climates, i. 332.

Shame: its effect upon mankind, i. 108, and 120.

Shipwreck and eſchetage (the right of) how eſtabliſhed, ii. 66.

Ships. See *Veſſels.*

Siam: what notion its inhabitants have of the ſupreme good, i. 308.

Signor (grand). See *Sultan.*

Sinking fund, ii. 110.

Sixtus Quintus; whether he did right in reviving the public accuſation of adultery, i. 137.

Slavery how many ſorts there are, i. 319. Civil, what it is, i. 310. Under what government it is moſt tolerable, i. 311. Contrary both to the civil law and that of nature, i. 313. (Right of) its origin, i. 311, *& ſeq.* and 316. Political, its influence on civil ſlavery, i. 316. Uſeleſs amongſt us, and why, i. 318. (Abuſe of) i. 320. Of the Helotes, i. 319. Why natural to ſouthern nations, i. 349, and ii. 24. Domeſtic, in what it conſiſts, i. 332. Of women, is connected with deſpotic government, i. 338. Why, ib. *& ſeq.* Of Aſia, compared with the liberty of Europe, i. 356. Cauſe of both, ib.

Slaves: whether there are any by nature, i. 317. Whether there is any one virtue belonging to them, i. 42. and 312. Great number of them, dangerous, i. 321, and 328. The arming of ſlaves in what caſe dangerous, i. 321. Plato's laws deprive them of the privilege of natural defence, ii. 204. Puniſhed by the Roman laws for the murder of their maſter, though they had no concern in it, i. 324. Freed, in order to accuſe their maſter, i. 258, *& ſeq.* They could not be witneſſes, Effects of the lenity of their maſters towards them, i. 323. What was the cauſe of the war of the ſlaves, i. 236.

Slowneſs of execution, when uſeful, i. 71, and 100.

Smuggling; what renders it common, i. 288. Puniſhments againſt it, why ſo rigorous, ib. How and why publiſhed in Japan, i. 282.

Society: how men are inclined to live in ſociety, i. 5. Effect of ſociety, eſtabliſhed amongſt men, i. 6. The political law eſtabliſhed in every ſociety, ib. Among ſavages, i. 365, *& ſeq.* Among Barbarians, i. 365.

Soil: its influence on laws, i. 358.

Soldiers, had the privileges of married men at Rome, ii. 146.

Solomon; what ſort of people he employed in navigation, ii. 30. How long his fleets were upon their voyage, ii. 31.

Solon; diviſion he made of the people of Athens, i. 13. His regulations for the election of the magiſtrates of Athens, i. 14. His laws on teſtaments, i. 55. On idleneſs, i. 60. On thoſe who eſpouſed neither ſide in public inſurrections, ii. 339. Reflection on the latter, ib. His judgment of his own laws, i. 405.

Sophi of Perſia, dethroned in our days, why, i. 35.

Sovereign, in what government he may be a judge, i. 99, *& ſeq.*

Soul; its immortality, by whom denied and defended, ii. 176. How for propagated among certain people, ii. 177. Conſequence that has been drawn from it, ii. 176.

South (people of the) compared to thoſe of the north, i. 293, *& ſeq.* How they are affected by love, i. 295, *& ſeq.* Contradictions in their character, i. 297.

Spain, (old) opinion of the ancients concerning its riches, ii. 53. What we are to think thereof, ib. Its ſilver mines, the profits ariſing from them, ib. Her conqueſts in America, ii. 71. What ſhe did to preſerve them, i. 160. Whether her conqueſts have increaſed her power, ii. 75, *& ſeq.* Her trade to the Weſt-Indies, ii. 80. She attempted to eſtabliſh arbitrary power in Flanders, but miſcarried, i. 160. A law publiſhed in Spain in 1740. Judgment of this law, ii. 13.

Spaniards:

Spaniards: their devaſtation in America, i. 46. Their character and honeſty, i. 393. Their conduct towards the Mexicans and the Indians, i. 180, and ii. 126.

Sparta. See *Lacedæmonians.*

Spectacles, public: the influence they had on the Roman people, i. 225.

Speeches, indiſcreet, puniſhed as high treaſon, i. 254. Behaviour of ſome emperors upon this ſubject, i. 255.

Spies: whether they are neceſſary in a monarchy, i. 266.

Spirit, general, of a nation, what it is, i. 103, 104. How it ought to be reſpected, ib. Of commerce, its effect upon mankind, ii. 2. Of the laws of Japan, i. 111. Of the Roman ſenate, i. 113. Of equality, contrary to the ſpirit of extreme equality, i. 146. In what they both conſiſt, ib.

States, marks of their proſperity, ii. 88. They may alter, and how many ways, i. 220. They have each a particular view, i. 197.

Sterility of lands, its effects, i. 361.

Stick. See *Batoon.*

Stoics: praiſe of this ſect, ii. 166.

Strabo: what he ſays in regard to the mariages between brother and ſiſter at Sparta, i. 56.

Subjects, are inclined to love their prince, i. 267.

Subordination of young people to old men, uſeful for the preſervation of morals, i. 62. Of citizens to magiſtrates, gives force to the laws, i. 63. Of children to their parents, i. 63.

Subſidies. See *Taxes.*

Subſtitution, dangerous in an ariſtocracy, i. 68. Its influence on commerce, i. 69. Vulgar, i. 406. Pupilar, ib. In uſe among the Romans, ii. 343.

Subtilty: a fault to be avoided in compoſing of laws, ii. 353.

Succeſſion to the empire, whether it is fixed in a deſpotic government, i. 78, 79. Judgment of the conduct which a prince who ſucceeds to the crown in a deſpotic country obſerves towards his brothers, i. 79. Which is the beſt order of ſucceſſion, i. 78, *& ſeq.* Order of ſucceſſion in monarchies,

monarchies, ii. 225. On what law it is founded, ii. 226. Whether it may ſometimes be changed, ii. 231. To the crown of France, confined to the male line by the Salic law, i. 378. To fiefs, how regulated, ii. 477, *& ſeq.*

Suffrages: two ways of giving them, i. 13. Whether they ought to be public or ſecret, i. 14. How thoſe of the nobility and the ſenators ought to given, i. 15. Given for money, i. 144.

Suicide: how puniſhed among the Greeks and Romans, ii. 344. Motive of both, ib. Common under the firſt Roman emperors, ib. Laws againſt ſuicide, ii. 344. Frequent in England, i. 306.

Sultan, or grand ſignior, whether he is obliged to keep his word, i. 34. His right of three *per cent.* on the value of inheritances, i. 77. Reflection on the cruel juſtice of ſome ſultans, i. 106.

Summons, perſonal, of the lord before the ſovereign, when it took place, ii. 313. When it ceaſed, ib.

Sumptuary (laws,) in democracies put a ſtop to luxury, i. 125. In ariſtocracies, i. 126. In monarchies, i. 127. In what caſe they are uſeleſs, ib. *& ſeq.* Of Arragon, i. 129. Of Sweden, ib. Of the Romans, i. 140.

Superſtition; its power, i. 369.

Sylla; judgment of his laws, i. 114, *& ſeq.*

Syracuſe; its misfortune, i. 145, *& ſeq.* Cauſe of its corruption, i. 147.

Syria (kings of) what trade they chuſe, ii. 42. Their conduct towards the Jews different from that of Alexander, i. 190.

T.

Tables (laws of the twelve) too cruel, i. 113, *& ſeq.* Regulation of theſe laws with regard to appeals to the people, i. 230. Whether they had regulated the lending of money upon intereſt, ii. 114. Their regulations with regard to debtors, ii. 339. With regard to robbers, ii. 350.

Tacitus; his miſtake in regard to the lending of money upon intereſt, ii. 115.

Tarquin the proud, how he raiſed himſelf to the throne, i. 219. The conduct he obſerved, and the effect thereof, ib.

Tartars aſcended the throne of China, 193. Means they uſe to preſerve it, ib. *& ſeq.* Effect of their conqueſt with regard to themſelves, i. 354. And with regard to the conquered country, ib. Their law of nations, i. 371. Changes which their devaſtations have cauſed in Aſia, ii. 27.

Taxes: order neceſſary in raiſing them, i. 70. How they were raiſed at Rome, i. 238, 239. Greatneſs of taxes, whether in itſelf good, i. 274. On what it depends, i. 281. Taxes in countries where villainage is eſtabliſhed, i. 275. Taxes in countries where villainage is not eſtabliſhed, i. 277. Their proportion to liberty, i. 283. And to deſpotic power, ib. In what government they are capable of increaſe, i. 284. Exceſſive, their original, i. 285. Their effect, ib. Exempting from taxes, how practiſed in Aſia and Europe, i. 287. Whether the Barbarians paid any for their lands under the kings of the Franks, ii. 362, *& ſeq.* What taxes the Barbarians raiſed upon the conquered people, ii. 377. Perſonal tax, i. 277. Proportion to be obſerved therein, ib. To what government it is moſt agreeable, i. 284. Taxes on merchandiſes, i. 276, *& ſeq.* Method of collecting them, i. 277, *& ſeq.* Proportion to be obſerved therein, i. 292. Advantageous to the ſtate, i. 280, *& ſeq.* Taxes on liquors, differently raiſed in different kingdoms, 279. Taxes on civil contracts, or ſtamp duties; reflection on this tax, 281. Danger there is ſometimes in taxing the value of merchandiſes, ii. 89. Faults that ought to be avoided in the raiſing of taxes in an ariſtocracy, i. 66.

Temper, ſociable, its effects, i. 391.

Temples; their origin. ii. 185. Their effect with regard to religion, ii. 186.

Teſtament, or will, forbidden among the primitive Romans, ii. 236. Afterwards permitted, ib. With what formalities, ib. Of the Roman ſoldiers, ii. 237. To what perſons it was forbidden, ii. 238, *& ſeq.* Stile uſed by the Romans in their teſtaments, ii. 239. In what caſe it was valid, ib. In what not, ib. When permitted among the Athenians, ii. 237.

Thebans; what they did to ſoften the manners of their youth, i. 51.

Theologians: their opinion concerning uſury and commerce, ii. 69.

Theophilus, (the emperor,) orders a ſhip to be burnt that had been laden with merchandiſes for his wife, ii. 16.

Theophraſtus; his opinion in regard to muſic, i. 48.

Thoughts; puniſhed as overt-acts, i. 553.

Tiberius, oppoſes the reformation of luxury, i. 127. His behaviour in regard to ſome Roman ladies guilty of adultery, i. 139. He revives the domeſtic tribunal, ib. He orders ſpecie to be given out of the treaſury to thoſe who wanted it, upon binding their lands, ii. 83. He adds to the rigour of the Papian law, ii. 144.

Tithes, impoſed on thoſe who were ſeiſed of church lands, ii. 448. Their eſtabliſhment, ii. 449. *& ſeq.* Oppoſition they met with, ii. 451. Their antiquity, ib. Their application, ii. 452.

Trade. See *Commerce*.

Tranquillity of the ſubject; how thoſe crimes which diſturb it ought to be puniſhed, i. 245.

Treaſury, (the king's,) ii. 363.

Trial by combat, or legal duel; by what laws admitted, ii. 270, and 290. Its origin, ib. *& ſeq.* and 292. Particular laws upon this ſubject, ii. 289, 292, and 274. How it gained ground, ii. 280. It pleaſes the taſte of the nobility, ii. 295. Cauſe of the diſuſe of the Salic and Roman laws, ii. 283. Its influence on the juriſprudence of thoſe days, ii. 273 and 260. Formalities obſerved therein, ii. 286, *& ſeq.*

and 313. Bounds prescribed to this usage, ii. 292. In what case they could not insist upon it, ii. 294. At what age they were allowed to fight, ii. 289. Between the party and one of the witnesses, ii. 290. In what manner it was abolished, ii. 308.

Trial by boiling water, or ordeal, admitted among the Salic Franks, with restrictions, ii. 273. In what case it was used, ii. 276. Formalities observed therein, ii. 274. Reflections on these trials, ii. 276. Changes they received, ii. 252, 253.

Trial or proof by witnesses, ii. 334. How it was restrained, ib. See *Judgments*.

Tribunals, or courts of judicature, in what government necessary, i. 102. Foundation of the contrast that is generally observed between the prince's council and the ordinary tribunals, i. 103. Domestic, used by the Romans, i. 134. The design of them, i. 135. & *seq*. Their forms, ib. Cause of their suppression, i. 136.

Tribunes of the people, necessary in an aristocracy, i. 66. Cicero's opinion upon this subject, i. 71. At what time they were established, i. 223. Their functions, ib.

Tribunes (military) at what time established, i. 228.

Tribute. See *Taxes*.

Troops, regular, whether it is advantageous to maintain a standing body of them, i. 287.

Truces established by religion, ii. 172.

Truth necessary in conversation, i. 37. Whether for its own sake, ib.

Turky: whether it be true that justice is administered better there than in other countries, i. 95.

Turnaments; their effect with regard to gallantry, ii. 289.

Tutelage, or guardianship, in what case it ought to be given to the mother of the pupil, i. 406. In what case to the next heir, ib.

Tyranny; the Romans get rid of their tyrants, without being able to shake off the yoke of tyranny, i. 26.

Tyrants; how they raiſe themſelves upon the ruins of a republic, i. 144. Puniſhed by the Greeks, i. 260.

Tyre; the nature of its commerce, ii. 4, and 27. Its ſettlements on the coaſts of the ocean, ii. 27. Its colonies, ii. 28. Rival of every trading nation, ii. 36.

V.

Valerian (law) the deſign of it, i. 106, 107, and 230. Miſunderſtood in the affair of Coriolanus, i. 231. Effect of it with regard to the government, i. 232.

Valette (duke of) judged by Lewis XIII. i. 100.

Value, reciprocal, of money, and of the things it ſignifies, ii. 82. Double of ſilver, ii. 90. Poſitive and relative, ii. 91. Manner of fixing the relative value, ib.

Vanity uſeful to government, i. 392.

Vaſſalage, its origin, ii. 361. Rear-vaſſalage, its nature before the fiefs became hereditary, ii. 475, *& ſeq.* What it was afterwards, ib.

Vaſſals, their duty to their lords, ii. 299, *& ſeq.* What they were among the ancient Germans, ii. 362. Single combat between a vaſſal and his lord, ii. 300. How they pleaded againſt their lords, ii. 305. Penalty againſt thoſe who appealed their lord wrongfully, ii. 306. Of Biſhops, by whom led into the field, ii. 388. Great vaſſals, ii. 311. Rear vaſſals, ib. At what time they were excuſed from going to the aſſembly, ii. 476. The king's vaſſals who they were, i. 385. The eſtates they were empowered to poſſeſs, i. 386. Their military ſervice, ii. 387.

Vegetables conform better than brutes to the laws of nature, i. 4.

Venice, republic, ſtands in need of a permanent magiſtracy, i. 18, and 67. What kind of magiſtracy this is, i. 15. Moderation preſcribed by the laws to the nobility of this republic, i. 127. Diſtribution of the three powers in this republic, i. 200. Its commerce with the Eaſt-Indies, how it dropped, ii. 71.

Veſſels or ſhips, our manner of computing their burthen, dif-

ferent from that of the ancients, ii. 24. Of the Indies and the Red Sea, different from thoſe of the Greeks or Romans, ii. 29. Effect of this difference, ib. *& ſeq.* Of the Indies, compared to thoſe at preſent made uſe of, ii. 30. Their mechaniſm different according to the different ports, ib. Calculation of the lading of a veſſel by its largeneſs, ii. 32.

Veſtal virgins, enjoy the rights of children, ii. 146.

Victory; its aim, i. 7.

Villains; their manner of fighting, ii. 286, and 290. Whether they could appeal their lord's court of falſe judgment, ii. 312. In what caſe they had this privilege, ib.

Villainage; at what time it was eſtabliſhed, i. 284, and ii. 354. Whether there was any general regulation to eſtabliſh it, ii. 364.

Vines pulled up in Gaul, ii. 60. Replanted, ib. They employ a great many men, ii. 131.

Virtue is the principle of a popular government, i. 25. Want of virtue among the Romans, the cauſe of their ſlavery, i. 26. The only ſupport, known by the Greek legiſlators, of a popular government, ib. Effect of the want of this virtue, ib. Neceſſary in an ariſtocracy, i. 28. Whether it is the principle of a monarchical government, i. 29. What virtues we are taught by education in a monarchy, i. 37. Whether ſlaves can have any ſhare of it, i. 42. What is meant by this word, i. 42, and 52. Whether it is found with inequality, i. 63. Its effect with regard to puniſhments, i. 107.

Viſigoths; their laws on commerce, ii. 66. On adultery, ii. 228. Change in their laws, ii. 250, *& ſeq.* Judgment of their laws, ii. 251. They were preſerved in Spain, ii. 261.

Uniformity; in what things it is neceſſary, ii. 358.

Union among the noble families, neceſſary in an ariſtocracy, i. 68.

Voconian (law) the purport of it, ii. 208. Its epocha, ii. 240.

The

The remains of it, ib. Supported by Cato the elder, ii. 241. The deſign of it, ii. 242. How obſerved, ii. 246.

Volga; miſtake of the ancients with regard to this river, ii. 42.

Uſury; why natural in deſpotic governments, i. 81. Confounded with commerce, ii. 67. Is lowered after the diſcovery of the Indies, ii. 71. What naturalized it at Rome, ii. 103. Arbitrary among the Romans, ib. *& ſeq.* Ordinary rate of uſury among them, ii. 114, 115. Diſturbance it made, ii. 114. Laws upon this ſubject, ii. 115. The laws which forbid it are not favourable to thoſe who want to borrow, ii. 116.

W.

Wants, (the ſenſe of,) as natural to man as that of his weakneſs, i. 5. Of the poor, how a ſtate may ſupply them, ii. 156.

War betwixt different nations, whence it ariſes, i. 6. Between the individuals of a ſociety, ib. Cauſe of the laws eſtabliſhed amongſt mankind, ib. Civil, whether it is always attended with a revolution, i. 72. Its object, i. 7. Oftener permitted to ſmall than to large ſocieties, i. 175. (Right of,) from whence derived, i. 175.

Weakneſs, the firſt ſenſation of man, conſidered before the eſtabliſhment of ſociety, i. 5. Of neighbouring ſtates, not to make uſe of it in order to precipitate their ruin, i. 173.

Will; the conjunction of wills is neceſſary to form a civil ſtate, i. 8. Of the ſovereign, is the ſovereign himſelf, i. 10. Of a deſpotic prince, ought infallibly to produce its effect, i. 35.

Will. See *Teſtament*.

Winds (trade,) the ancients made uſe of them as of a kind of compaſs, ii. 44.

Wine, forbidden in Arabia, i. 302. And why, ib. To what country it is agreeable, i. 303. (Exceſs of,) differently puniſhed, ib. Sending it to barbarians forbidden by the Romans, ii. 60. A tax upon wine, raiſed by Chilperic, ii. 374.

Witneſſes; in what manner they were rejected at the time of judicial combats, ii. 295. How they avoided fighting, ib. Falſe, how puniſhed, ii. 345, & *ſeq.*

Women; their condition in a monarchy, i. 139. In deſpotic governments, i. 134. Their conduct, how careful the Greeks were of it, i. 135, & *ſeq.* To whom the guardianſhip or tutelage of women was given among the Romans, i. 137. And among the Germans, ib. When it expired, i. 138. Their diſſolute conduct a pretence for accuſations againſt the great, i. 139, 140. Their frugality, laws made at Rome to preſerve it, i. 140. Whether they ought to have the government of families, i. 141. Whether they are fit to govern an empire, i. 142. Cuſtoms of the Indies upon this ſubject, ib. Example of ſtates governed by women, ib. They paſs into the family of the huſband, ii. 123. Whether this be an univerſal cuſtom, ib. A law which hinders them from inheriting, ii. 208, & *ſeq.* From whence derived, ib. In what caſe they inherited, ii. 235, & *ſeq.* and 217, & *ſeq.* Their confinement neceſſary in the Eaſt, i. 337. Its influence on their morals, i. 339. Indian women, their wantonneſs, i. 341. Different orders of married women, ii. 124. Women that burn themſelves at the death of their huſbands, ii. 177. Lent by their huſbands to another man, ii. 227. In what caſe, when they heard no tidings of their huſbands, they were allowed to marry again, ii. 213. They were not allowed to fight, ii. 294. Nor to appeal to a judicial combat without the authority of their huſbands, ib.

Words. See *Speeches.*

World; whether its laws are invariable, and why, i. 2. The intelligent world does not follow its laws exactly, i. 3. Phyſical world, ib.

Worſhip. See *Cult.*

Writings, ſatirical, puniſhed by the decemvirs, i. 114. And by the emperors, i. 256. In what light they are looked upon in different governments, i. 257.

INDEX

TO THE

GRANDEUR AND DECLENSION

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

A.

ACARNANIANS, ravaged by the forces of Macedon and Ætolia, 31.

Achians, the ſtate of their affairs, ibid.

Activity, definition of, 11.

Actium, battle of, gained by Auguſtus over Antony, 25.

Acyndinus and Barlaam, their diſpute with ſome Greek monks, 165.

Adrian, the emperor, relinquiſhes the conqueſt of Trajan, 111. Which greatly diſpleaſes the people, ib. Re-eſtabliſhes military diſcipline, 118.

Æqui, a warlike people, 8.

Ætolians, character of that people, 31. Join the Romans againſt Philip, 34. Join Antiochus againſt the Romans, 35.

Africa, cities of, ſubject to the Carthaginians, ill fortified, 29.

Agrippa, Octavius's general, reduces Sextus Pompeius, 87.

Alans were heavy armed, 149.

Alexander, ſucceſſor of Heliogabalus, put to death by the Roman ſoldiers, 119.

Alexis Comnenus, the events of his reign, 176. And John Comnenus drives back the Turks to the Euphrates, 177.

Ally of the people of Rome, the title of, much ſought after, tho' it carried with it the compleateſt ſlavery, 42.

Amalazonta, queen of the Goths, ſupplies Beliſarius with proviſions, 15.

Ambaſſadors, Roman, always ſpeak with a haughty tone, 41.

Ambition, why a very common evil in the Grecian empire, 159. Neceſſary to ſave a falling ſtate, 185.

Anarchy, prevails at Rome during the civil wars, 90.

Andronicus Palæologus, why he neglected the care of his fleet, 168. Inſolent anſwer of a patriarch of Conſtantinople to the old Andronicus, 169. Spends his time in the diſcuſſion of theological ſubtleties, 170.

Andronicus Comnenus, the Nero of the Greeks, 300.

Antiochus, his ill conduct in the war againſt the Romans, 37. The diſhonourable treaty he made with them, 37.

Antony gets poſſeſſion of Cæſar's books of accounts, 83. Speaks Cæſar's funeral oration, 84. Is deſirous of having the government of Ciſalpine Gaul aſſigned to him, to the prejudice of Decimus Brutus, who obtains it, ib. Defeated at Modena, 85. Joins Lepidus and Octavius, 86. And Octavius purſues Brutus and Caſſius, ib. Swears to re-eſtabliſh the republic; loſes the battle of Actium, 89.

Antoninus, the two emperors, beloved and reſpected, 112.

Appian, author of the hiſtory of the wars of Marius and Sylla, 71.

Arabians, their rapid conqueſts, 161. Very dexterous archers, 162. Excellent horſemen, ib. Their diviſions favourable to the empire of the eaſt, 173. Their power deſtroyed in Perſia, 176.

Arcadius, makes an alliance with the Viſigoths, 145.

Archers, Cretan, formerly moſt eſteemed, 15.

Arianiſm, moſt of the Barbarians, who turned Chriſtians, of that ſect, 147. The prevailing ſect, for ſome time, in the empire, ib. Its doctrine, 159.

Ariſtocracy ſucceeds monarchy at Rome, 54. Changes by degrees into democracy, ib.

Armies, Roman, not very numerous at firſt, 13. The beſt diſciplined that ever were, 14. Naval, formerly more numerous than at preſent, 25. In the civil wars of Rome had no determined object in view, 88. Only attached to the good fortune of their leader, ib. Under the emperors, exerciſe the ſupreme magiſtracy, 121. By what means Diocleſian diminiſhes their power, 123. Great armies, either by land or ſea, more troubleſome, than ſerviceable to the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, 150.

Arms, the Roman ſoldiers grow weary of their arms, 135. A Roman ſoldier was puniſhed with death, if he left his arms in the field, 137.

Arſenius and Joſeph, contend for the ſee of Conſtantinople; the heat and obſtinacy of their partiſans, 175.

Arts, in what manner introduced among different nations, 16. And commerce reputed ſervile occupations by the Romans 69.

Aſſociation of ſeveral cities of Greece, 32. Of ſeveral princes in the government of the Roman empire, 123. Looked upon by the Chriſtians as one cauſe of its ruin, 128.

Aſtrology, judicial, much in vogue in the Grecian empire, 159.

Athamanes ravaged by Macedon and Ætolia, 33.

Athenians, ſtate of their affairs after the Punic wars, ib.

Attila, reduces all the north, and makes both empires tributary, 141. Whether it was his moderation that made him not extirpate the Romans, ib. In what ſlaviſh ſubjection he kept both empires, ib. His character, 142. His alliance with Genſeric, 145.

Avari attack the empire of the eaſt, 157.

Auguſtus, ſurnamed Octavius, 90. Begins to eſtabliſh a new form of government, 91. His ſecret motives and the plan of his government, ib. Parallel of his conduct with that of Cæſar, ib. Whether he ever really deſigned to reſign the

the empire, 92. Parallel of Auguſtus and Sylla, ib. Very cautious of conferring the freedom of Rome on any one, 93. Places a governor and garriſon in Rome, 95. Aſſigns funds for the payment of the land and ſea forces, ib. Takes from the people the legiſlative power, 98.

Auſtin, St. refutes the letter of Symnachus, 140.

Authority, that of a prince who ſucceeds a republic, more abſolute than any, 105.

B.

Bajazet, why he did not ſucceed in the conqueſt of the Eaſtern empire, 181.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, crowned emperor by the Latins, 179.

Barlearen ſlingers much valued, 15.

Barbarians became formidable to the Romans, 121. Their incurſions on the territories of the Roman empire, in the reign of Gallus, 122. Repulſed by Rome, 123. Their irruptions in the time of Conſtantius, 129. The emperors ſometimes kept them off with money, 133. Which drains the riches of Rome, 134. Employed in the Roman armies as auxiliaries, ib. Refuſed to ſubmit to the Roman diſcipline, 137. Had no fixed ſettlements, and why, 143. Obtain lands in the Weſt on the extremity of the empire, 146. Might have become Romans, ib. The greateſt part of them deſtroy one another, 147. On turning Chriſtians embrace Arianiſm, ib. Their politics, manners, &c. 148. Different manners of fighting among divers barbarous nations, 149. The moſt powerful did not make the beſt ſettlements, ib. Once ſettled, became leſs formidable, 147.

Barlaam and Acyndinus, their conteſt with ſome Greek monks, 165.

Baſil, the emperor, loſes Sicily through his own fault, 168.

Baſil, Porphyrogenitus, extinction of the power of the Arabs in Perſia, in his reign, 176.

Battle

Battle loſt, worſe by the diſcouragement it occaſions, than by the loſs of men ſuffered in it, 28.

Beliſarius, to what he attributed his ſucceſs, 149. Lands in Africa with only 5000 men, to attack the Vandals, 150. His exploits and victories. His character, 151.

Bigotry, enervates the courage of the Greeks, 163. Contrary effects of bigotry and fanaticiſm, ib.

Bithynia, origin of that kingdom, 35.

Blues and Greens, factions which divided the empire of the Eaſt, 152. Juſtinian favours the Blues, 153.

Bœotians, character of that people, 31.

Brutus and Caſſius, are guilty of a miſtake fatal to the Republic, 76. Both kill themſelves, 86.

Booty, what it chiefly conſiſted of among the Romans, 2. How divided among the Romans, 5.

Boldneſs the protection of Sylla, 189.

C.

Cæſar, parallel of, with Pompey and Craſſus, 73, *& ſeq.* prevails againſt Pompey, 73. What enabled him to attempt the liberty of his country, 73. Frightens Rome as much as Hannibal had done, 75. His elevation more owing to his great perſonal qualities, than to his good fortune ſo much magnified, 76. Purſues Pompey into Greece, ib. Whether his clemency deſerves to be much commended, 78. Whether there be any reaſon to boaſt of his diligence, ib. Makes an attempt to have the diadem put on his head, ib. Treats the ſenate with contempt, and draws up *ſenatus conſulta* himſelf, 79. Conſpiracy againſt him, 80. Whether the aſſaſſinating Cæſar was properly a crime, 81. All his acts ratified by the ſenate after his death, 82. His treaſures ſeized by Antony, 83. His obſequies, 84. Almoſt all his conſpirators make a miſerable end, 87. Parallel between Cæſar and Auguſtus, 91. Total extinction of his family, 107.

Caligula,

Caligula, character of that emperor; reſtores the Comitia, 101. Suppreſſes accuſations of Leſe Majeſté, 102. Whimſical in his cruelties, 105. Is ſlain: Claudius ſucceeds him 105.

Callinicus, inventor of the Grecian fire, 174.

Campania, character of its inhabitants, 8.

Campus Martius, 12.

Cannæ, battle of, the Romans loſe it againſt the Carthaginians, 27. Firmneſs of the Roman ſenate notwithſtanding this loſs, ib.

Canvaſſing for places of truſt introduced at Rome chiefly during the civil wars, 90.

Capuans, indolent and voluptuous, 8.

Cappadocia, origin of that kingdom, 35.

Caracalla, the character and conduct of that emperor, 115. Succeeded Severus, and was not only the tyrant, but the deſtroyer of mankind, ib. Augments the ſoldiers pay, 116. Inſtitutes divine honours to his brother Geta, whom he had put to death, 118. Is in like manner ranked among the Gods by the emperor Macrinus, his ſucceſſor and murderer, 119. Effect of his profuſion, ib. Regretted by the ſoldiers, ib.

Carthage, portrait of that republic at the time of the firſt Punic war, 20. Parallel of it with the republic of Rome, 21. Had none but hired troops, 22. Its eſtabliſhment leſs ſolid than that of Rome, ib. Its ill conduct in the war, ib. Its government oppreſſive, 23. The founding of Alexandria hurts its trade, ib. Receives peace from the Romans, after the ſecond Punic war, upon hard terms, 30. One cauſe of the ruin of this republic, 60.

Carthaginians had experience at ſea more than the Romans, 24.

Caſſius and Brutus commit a fault very fatal to the republic, 76.

Cato, a ſaying of, concerning the firſt triumvirate, 73. After the

the battle of Pharſalia adviſes to protract the war, 76. Parallel between Cato and Cicero, 85.

Cavalry, Roman, becomes equal to any, 15. At the time of the war againſt the Carthaginians, inferior to the cavalry of that nation, 24. Numidian, enters into the ſervice of the Romans, ib. At firſt only the eleventh part of each legion; augmented afterwards, 135. Diſcipline leſs neceſſary to cavalry, than to infantry, 136. Romans, ſkilled in the uſe of the bow, 149. Of Aſia, excelled that of Europe, 162.

Cenſors, their power, 57, *& ſeq.* Could not depoſe any magiſtrate, 59. Their office in relation to the cenſus, 57.

Centuries, Servius Tullius divides the people by, 59.

Chriſtians, opinion entertained in Greece againſt ſhedding their blood, 159.

Chriſtianity, what facilitated its eſtabliſhment in the Roman empire, 115. Looked upon by the Pagans as the cauſe of the ruin of the Roman empire, 139. Why incommoded by the emperors, 148. Popular, and the innocent cauſe of offences, 159. Give place to Mahometaniſm in a part of Aſia and Africa, 161. Why God permitted it to be extinguiſhed in ſo many places, ib.

Cicero, his conduct after the death of Cæſar, 84. Labours to raiſe Octavius, ib. Parallel of Cicero and Cato, 85.

Civil, the civil wars of Rome did not hinder its aggrandizement, 76. In general made the people more warlike, and more formidable to their enemies, 76. Of two ſorts in France, 77.

Claudius, the emperor, entruſts his officers with the adminiſtration of juſtice, 106.

Clemency, of a ſucceſsful uſurper, whether it merits high commendation, 78.

Cleopatra, runs away at the battle of Actium, 89. Had undoubtedly in view to gain the heart of Octavius, ib.

Colonies, Roman, 22.

Comitia, become tumultuous, 64. By tribes, 59.

Commerce,

Commerce, reaſons why the power to which it raiſes a nation, is not always of long continuance, 24. And arts looked upon by the Romans as ſervile employments, 69.

Commodus ſucceeds Marcus Aurelius, 112.

Comnenus, Andronicus, the Nero of the Greeks, 175. *Alexis*. See *Alexis*. *Johannes*. See *John*. *Manuel*. See *Manuel*.

Compaſs, invention of, has brought navigation to great perfection, 25.

Conqueſts of the Romans, ſlow in the beginning, but continued, 8. More difficult to be preſerved than made, 29.

Conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, 80.

Conſpiracies, frequent in the beginning of Auguſtus's reign, 81. Why become more difficult now than among the ancients, 160.

Conſtantine removes the ſeat of the empire to the Eaſt, 126. Diſtributes corn at Conſtantinople and Rome, ib. Withdraws the legions, ſtationed on the frontier, into the heart of the provinces; conſequences of this innovation, 129.

Conſtance, grandſon to Heraclius by Conſtantine, ſlain in Sicily, 163.

Conſtantine, ſon of Heraclius, poiſoned, ib.

Conſtantinus Barbus, ſon of Conſtance, ſucceeds his father, ib.

Conſtantinople, takes its name from Conſtantine, 126. Received all the riches of Rome, 127. Divided into two factions, 152. Exorbitant power of its patriarchs, 169. Supports itſelf under the later Greek emperors by its trade, 174. Taken by the croiſaders, 178. Retaken by the Greeks, 179. Its trade ruined, ib.

Conſtantius ſends Julian into Gaul, 129.

Conſuls, annual, the eſtabliſhment of, at Rome, 5.

Coriolanus, in what tone the ſenate treated with him, 27.

Corn, diſtribution of, in the time of the republic, and under the emperors, 127.

Corruption of the Romans, 66.

Country, love of their country, a kind of religious ſentiment among the Romans, 68.
Courage, warlike, defence, 14.
Croiſades, 178.
Croiſaders, make war on the Greeks, and crown the count of Flanders emperor, 178. Keep poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople for ſixty years, ib.
Curiatian, law, 67.
Cynocephalæ, battle of, where the Ætolians, aſſiſted by the Romans, defeat Philip, 34.
Czar, Peter I. introduced greater changes in his dominions than is uſual for conquerors, 164.

D.

Dancing, a part of the military exerciſe among the Romans, 12.
Danes, their land forces almoſt always beat by thoſe of Sweden for near two centuries paſt, 135.
Decemvirs, prejudicial to Rome's greatneſs, 9.
Declenſion of the Roman greatneſs, its cauſes, 1. Wars in diſtant countries, 62. 2. Conferring the freedom of the city on all their allies, 63. 3. Inſufficiency of their laws in their ſtate of greatneſs, 65. 4. Corruption of manners, 66. 5. Diſuſe of triumphs, 92. 6. Invaſion of the empire by the barbarians, 144. 7. Too many of the barbarian auxiliaries incorporated in the Roman armies, 134. Compariſon of the general cauſes of Rome's greatneſs with thoſe of its declenſion, 136. Of Rome, imputed by the chriſtians to the pagans, and by thoſe to the chriſtians, 139.
Denarii, diſtributions of, in triumphs, 108.
Deſertion, why common in our armies, and ſcarce known in thoſe of Rome, 13.
Deſpotic, whether any power be ſo in every reſpect, 172.
Deſpotiſm, rather promotes the oppreſſion, than the union of the people, 163.
Dictatorſhip, its eſtabliſhment, 56.

Dioclesian, introduces the cuſtom of aſſociating ſeveral princes in the government of the empire, 123.

Diſcipline, military, the Romans repair their loſſes by re-eſtabliſhing it in all its vigour, 12. Adrian re-eſtabliſhes it; Severus neglects it, 118. Several emperors maſſacred for attempting to reſtore it, 119. Barbarians incorporated in the Roman armies, refuſe to ſubmit to it, 137. Compariſon of its ancient vigour with its remiſſneſs, ib.

Diſeaſes of the mind generally incurable, 159.

Diſputation, natural to the Greeks, 170.

Diſputers, obſtinate in matters of religion, 170. What regard ought to be paid to them by ſovereigns, 171.

Divination by water in a baſon, practiſed in the Grecian empire, 159.

Divines, incapable of ever accommodating their differences, 172.

Diviſions more eaſily appeaſed in a monarchy than in a republic, 21. In Rome, &c. 63.

Domitian, the emperor, a monſter of cruelty, 108.

Druſilla, the emperor Caligula, her brother, decrees divine honours to her, 105.

Duillius, the conſul, defeats the Carthaginians in a ſea engagement, 26.

Durenius, the tribune M. why expelled the ſenate, 59.

E.

Eaſt, ſtate of, at the time of the final defeat of the Carthaginians, 31. Empire of, ſubſiſts longer than that of the weſt, why, 144, 179. Juſtinian's conqueſts only haſten its ruin, 151. Why plurality of wives had always been the cuſtom in the Eaſt, 152. What ſupported this empire, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of its government, 300. Its final ruin, 309.

Egypt, a ſketch of the government of that kingdom after the death of Alexander, 36. Ill conduct of its kings, 38. Wherein conſiſted their principal ſtrength, 39. Deprived by

by the Romans of the auxiliary troops which they had from Greece, 39. Conquered by Auguſtus, 126.

Emperors, Roman, generaliſſimo's of the armies of the empire, 93. Their power increaſes by degrees, 96. The moſt cruel, not hated by the lower people, why, 103. Were proclaimed by the Roman armies, 108. Inconvenience of this method of election, ib. *& ſeq.* Roman, in vain endeavour to make the power of the ſenate be reſpected, 107. Succeſſors of Nero, to Veſpaſian, 108. Their power might appear more tyrannical than that of modern princes, why, 113. Often foreigners, why, 114. Murder of ſeveral emperors ſucceſſively, from Alexander to Decius, inclusive, 119. Who recovered the empire from the brink of ruin, 123. Their life begins to be leſs in danger, ib. Live more effeminately, and apply leſs to buſineſs, ib. Want to have divine honours paid them, 124. Their Characters diſfigured by party writers, 129. Several Greek emperors hated by their ſubjects on account of religion, 159. Diſpoſition of the people towards them, 160. Inflame theological diſputes, inſtead of ſtifling them, 171. Wholly neglect the marine, 179.

Empire, Roman, its eſtabliſhment, 98, *& ſeq.* Compared to the government of Algiers, 120. Over-run by divers barbarous nations, 121. Repulſes, and rids itſelf of them, 123. Aſſociation of ſeveral princes in the government of the empire, ib. Partition of the empire, ib. Of the Eaſt. See *Eaſt*. Of the Weſt. See *Weſt*. Grecian. See *Grecian*. Never weaker than when its frontiers were beſt fortified, 154. Of the Turks. See *Turks*.

Enfranchiſement of ſlaves, limited by Auguſtus, 93. Motives which rendered it ſo frequent, 94.

Engagements, naval, depend at preſent more on the ſailors than ſoldiers, 26.

Engines of war unknown in Italy, in the infancy of Rome, 7.

England, wiſdom of its government, 60.

Engraving, uſefulneſs of that art for geographical carts, 281.
Enterpriſes, great, more difficult to accompliſh now, than in ancient times, why, 160.
Epicuriſm, introduced at Rome towards the end of the republic, occaſions a corruption of manners, 66.
Eutychus, the heretic, what it was he taught, 159.
Examples, ſome bad ones of worſe conſequence than crimes, 58.
Exchange, variation in the courſe of, inferences drawn from it, 160.
Exerciſes, bodily, ſunk into contempt among the moderns, though very uſeful, 12.

F.

Faults committed by governors, ſometimes the neceſſary effect of the ſituation of affairs, 133.
Feaſts, the law which limited the expences of them at Rome, abrogated by the tribune Duronicus, 59.
Feu Gregeois, the Greek emperors forbid the diſcovery of the ſecret of it to barbarians, 174.
Fiefs, whether the laws of, are in themſelves prejudicial to the duration of the empire, 50.
Fleets, carried formerly a much greater number of land forces than at preſent, why, 26. A fleet able to keep the ſea, is not built and fitted out in a ſhort time, ib.
Freedom of Rome granted to all its allies, 63. Inconveniencies reſulting from thence, ib. Avoided by Auguſtus, 94.
French cruſaders, their ill conduct in the Eaſt, 303.
Frieſland and Holland were formerly neither inhabited nor habitable, 162.
Frontiers of the empire, fortified by Juſtinian, 155.

G.

Gabinius demands a triumph, after a war which he had entered into againſt the inclination of the people, 91.

Galba, the emperor, holds the empire a very ſhort time, 108.
Gallus, incurſions of the Barbarians on the territory of the empire under his reign, 122. Why they did not then ſettle it, 144.
Gaul, government both of the Ciſalpine and Tranſalpine, entruſted to Cæſar, 74.
Gauls, parallel of that people with the Romans, 17.
Generals, of the Roman armies, cauſes of the increaſe of their authority, 62.
Genſeric, king of the Vandals, 145.
Germanicus regretted by the Roman people, 100.
Germany, its foreſts cut down, and its moraſſes drained, 163.
German cruſaders pay dear for the faults of the French cruſaders, 304.
Geta, had divine honours inſtituted to him by his brother Caracalla, who killed him, 118.
Gladiators, the Roman ſoldiers entertained with a ſpectacle of gladiators, to accuſtom them to bloodſhed, 129.
Gordians, the emperors, all three aſſaſſinated, 120.
Goths, received by Valens into the empire, 131.
Government, a free government, what required to make it laſting, 60. Of Rome, excellent, becauſe it comprehended in its ſyſtem the means of correcting its abuſe, ib. Military, whether preferable to civil, 112. Inconveniencies of totally changing its forms, 129.
Grandeur, of the Romans, cauſes of its growth, 1. 1. Triumphs, 2. 2. Adopting foreign cuſtoms which they judged preferable to their own, ib. 3. Capacity of their kings, ib. 4. The intereſt which the conſuls had in acting as men of honour during their conſulſhip, 5. 5. Diſtribution of the ſpoils to the ſoldiers, and of the conquered lands to the citizens, ib. 6. Continuance of war, 8. 7. Their unſhaken firmneſs which kept them from being ever diſcouraged, 28. 8. Their addreſs to make their enemies deſtroy one another, 40. 9. Excellence of their government,

whoſe plan ſupplied the means of correcting its abuſes, 60. Of Rome is the true cauſe of its ruin, 62. The general cauſes of its increaſe and declenſion, compared, 137.

Græcia Major, character of the inhabitants who peopled it, 8.

Great minds not content with inactivity, 183.

Greece, ſtate of, after the conqueſt of Carthage by the Romans, 31. Empire of, what ſort of events its hiſtory preſents, 158. Hereſies frequent in that empire, ib. Great part of it invaded by the Latin cruſaders, 178. Retaken by the Greeks, 179. By what methods it ſupported itſelf after the check given it by the Latins, 179. Final ruin of this empire, 181. Towns of, the Romans make them independent of the princes to whom they belonged, 35. Subjected by the Romans to make neither war nor alliance without their conſent, 39. Place their confidence in Mithridates, 52.

Greeks, not looked upon as religious obſervers of an oath, 67. No nation ſo great enemies of heretics, 159. Emperors hated by their ſubjects on account of religion, ib. Continually embroiled religion by controverſies, 168.

Greens and Blues, factions which divided the empire, 152. Juſtinian declares againſt the Greens, 153.

Guards, no ſecurity to ſovereigns, 112.

H.

Hannibal, to what he owed his victories over the Romans, 24. Innumerable obſtacles ſurmounted by him, 28. Vindicated from the blame commonly thrown on him for not laying ſiege to Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ, and ſuffering his men to enervate themſelves at Capua, ib. The change of his fortune owing to his conqueſts, ib. Reduced by Scipio to act on the defenſive; is defeated by the Roman general, 30.

Happineſs, only attainable in a middle ſtation of life, 183.

Heliogabalus is ſlain by the ſoldiers, 119.

Heraclius put Phocas to death, and takes poſſeſſion of the empire, 161.

Hernici, a warlike people, 8.

Heruli, were a flying troop, 149.

Hirtius and Panſa were conſuls when taxes were eſtabliſhed in Rome, 118.

Hiſtory, Roman, why more barren of facts ſince the emperors, 95.

Holland, and Frieſland, were formerly neither inhabited nor habitable, 162.

Homer, vindicated from the cenſures of thoſe who blame him for commending his heroes for their ſtrength, dexterity, and agility, 12.

Honorius obliged to leave Rome, and flee to Ravenna, 145.

Honours, divine, ſome emperors arogate them to themſelves by formal edicts, 123.

Horſes were procured by the Romans from Numidia, 15. Bred in many places where formerly there were none, 163.

Huns paſs the Cimmerian Boſphorus, 130. Serve the Romans in quality of auxiliaries, 149. Were admirable bowmen, and made the beſt cavalry, ib.

Huſbandry and war the only profeſſions of the Roman citizens, 69.

I.

Iconoclaſts oppoſe the uſe of images, 165. Accuſed of magic by the monks, ib.

John and Alexis Comnenus drive back the Turks to the Euphrates, 177.

Ignorance, groſs, into which the Greek clergy plunged the laity, 165.

Illyrium, kings of, greatly depreſſed by the Romans, 32.

Illyrian ſoldiers unfit for the fatigues of war, 110.

Images, the worſhip of, carried to a ridiculous exceſs under the Greek emperors, 164. Effects of this ſuperſtitious worſhip, ib.

ib. The Iconoclaſts exclaim againſt the worſhip of them, 165. Some emperors aboliſh it, the empreſs Theodora reſtores it, 167.

Imperial ornaments, more reſpected by the Greeks, than the perſon of the emperor, 159.

Infantry in the Roman armies was, in relation to the cavalry, as ten to one, but afterwards quite the reverſe, 110. Of the Romans, their chief ſtrength, ib.

Inhabitants of Rome and Athens compared, 17.

Invaſions of the northern barbarians on the empire, 121, and 145. Cauſes of theſe invaſions, 121, *&* *ſeq.* Why no longer any ſuch invaſions, 122.

Joſeph and Arſenus contend for the ſee of Conſtantinople, the heat and obſtinacy of their followers, partiſans, 171.

Italy, character of its inhabitants in the infancy of Rome, 8. unpeopled by removing the ſeat of the empire to the Eaſt, 126. Gold and ſilver become very ſcarce in it, 128. Yet the emperors ſtill exact the ſame tributes, ib. The Italian army appropriate to themſelves the third part of that country, 145.

Jugurtha, the Romans ſummon him to ſurrender at diſcretion, 47.

Julian, Didius, proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiers, who afterwards deſert him, 112.

Julian the emperor, a plain and modeſt man, 125. The ſervice which this prince did the empire under Conſtantius, 129. His army purſued by the Arabians, why, 133.

Juſtice, the power of adminiſtering it, conferred by Claudius on his officers, 106.

Juſtinian, undertakes to reconquer Africa and Italy from the barbarians, 147. Employs the Huns to good purpoſe, 149. Is unable to fit out more than fifty ſhips againſt the Vandals, 150. His reign delineated, 151. His conqueſts only ſerve to weaken the empire, ib. Marries a proſtitute; the power ſhe aſſumes over him, 153. The repreſentation

Procopius gives of it, ib. The imprudent deſign he formed of extipating all the heterodox, 154. Difference in opinion between him and the empreſs, ib. Builds a prodigious number of forts, ib.

K.

King of Rome, how elected, 2.

Kings of Rome, their authority, 60, *& ſeq.* Expelled, 3. What rendered all kings ſubject to Rome, 50.

L.

Lacedæmon, ſtate of the affairs of that republic in Lycurgus's time, 16. After the total defeat of the Carthaginians by the Romans, 33.

Lands of the conquered, confiſcated by the Romans for the benefit of the people, 5. This cuſtom ceaſes, 9. Equal diſtribution of lands in the old republics, 16. By what means they reverted, in proceſs of time, into the hands of a few, 17. A diſtribution of the lands reſtores the republic of Sparta when fallen from its ancient power, 18. The ſame method raiſes Rome from its low ſtate, ib.

Latin cruſaders. See *Cruſaders*.

Latin towns, colonies of Alba, by whom founded, 8.

Latins, a warlike people, ib.

Law of nations among the Romans, 2.

Laws have never greater force than when they ſecond the ruling paſſion of the nation for whom they are made, 21. Of Rome could not prevent its ruin, why, 65. Better calculated to promote the grandeur than the eſtabliſhment and perpetuity of the republic, ib. Variations in them during the reign of Juſtinian, 154. From whence theſe variations could proceed, ib.

Leagues, why ſeldom formed againſt the Romans, 41.

Legion, Roman, how it was armed, 10. Compared with the Macedonian phalanx, 35. The legions of Aſia always beat by thoſe of Europe, 114. Levied in the provinces, conſequences thereof,

thereof, 114. Withdrawn by Conſtantine from the banks of the great rivers into the heart of the provinces; fatal conſequences of this change, 129.

Leo, his enterpriſe againſt the Vandals miſcarries, 150. Succeſſor of Baſil, loſes by his own fault, Tauromenia and the iſland of Lemnos, 169.

Lepidus appears in arms in the Forum at Rome, 82. A member of the ſecond triumvirate, 86. Excluded the triumvirate by Octavius, 88.

Limits ſet by nature to ſome ſtates, 36.

Livius, the cenſor M. degrades thirty-four tribes all at once, 59.

Lucretia raviſhed by Sextus Tarquin, conſequences thereof, 3. That outrage however, not ſo much the primary cauſe, as the accidental occaſion of the expulſion of the kings, ib.

Lucullus drives Mithridates out of Aſia, 51.

M.

Macedonia, and Macedonians, ſituation of the country; character of the nation, and its kings, 33.

Macedonians, ſect of, what was their doctrine, 159.

Magiſtracies, Roman; in what manner, to whom, by whom, and for what time, they were conferred in the republic, 71.

Majeſty, application made by Tiberius of the law which declared it treaſon to commit any outrage againſt the majeſty of the Roman people, 96. The crime of Leſe Majeſtè was, under that emperor, imputed to thoſe whom they could accuſe of nothing elſe, 100. Whether, however, the accuſations founded on this charge were as frivolous as they appear to us, ib.

Manlius orders his ſon to be put to death for defeating the enemy without orders, 12.

Manners of the Romans corrupted by Epicuriſm, 66.

Marches of the Roman army ſudden and ſpeedy, 14.

Manuel Comnenus, the emperor, neglects the marine, 179.

Marcus Aurelius, his elogium, 112.

Marcus

Marcus, his repreſentations to the Romans on their making Pompey their only reſource, 72.
Marius and Sylla, the motive of their wars, 106.
Marius turns the courſe of the rivers in his expedition againſt the Cimbri and Teutones, 13. Rival of Sylla, 71.
Martius, Campus, 12.
Maſiniſſa protected by the Romans, to keep the Carthaginians in awe, 30. And to reduce Philip and Antiochus, 44.
Mauricius, the emperor, incredible avarice, 157. Himſelf and his children put to death by Phocas, 258.
Maximus, the firſt emperor of Barbarian extraction, 120.
Metellus reſtores military diſciple, 12.
Michael Palæologus, plan of his government, 169.
Militia, Roman, 61. A burden to the ſtate, ib.
Military art, carried to perfection by the Romans, 9. Their continual application to it, 15. Whether military government be preferable to civil, 112.
Military virtue retained by the Romans after they had loſt all other, 71.
Mithridates, the only king who made a brave defence againſt the Romans, 51. Situation of his dominions, his forces, and conduct, ib. Forms ſome legions, ib. The diſſentions of the Romans give him advantages againſt them, ib. His wars againſt the Romans intereſting by the great number of revolutions with which they preſent us, 52. Several times defeated, ib. Betrayed by his ſon Macchares, 53. And by Pharnaces his other ſon, ib. Dies like a king, ib.
Mohammed, his religion and empire make a rapid progreſs, 161. Son of Sambrael calls in 4000 Turks to Perſia, 301. Loſes Perſia, 176.
Mohammed II. extinguiſhes the empires of the Eaſt, ib.
Monarchy of the kings of Rome, 60. How the three powers were there diſtributed, 60, *& ſeq.* Roman, ſucceeded by ariſtocracy, 54.
Monarchic ſtate ſubject to fewer inconveniencies from the infringement of the fundamental laws, than a republic in the

the like caſe, 20. Diviſions in it more eaſily appeaſed, 21. Leſs excites the ambitious jealouſy of private perſons, 55.

Monks of Greece accuſe the Iconoclaſts of magic, 164. Why they ſo warmly maintained the worſhip of images, 165. Abuſe the people, and oppreſs the ſecular clergy, 166. Intermeddle in every affair of ſtate, ib. Conſequence of this abuſe, 167. Are ſpoiled at court, and the court ſpoiled by them, 168.

Montholites, heretics, their doctrine, 159.

Multitude makes the ſtrength of our armies, the ſtrength of the ſoldiers that of the Roman armies, 14.

Murders and confiſcations, why leſs common among us than under the Roman emperors, 103.

N.

Narſes, the eunuch, favourite of Juſtinian, 151.

Nations, the reſources of ſome nations of Europe, who are in themſelves weak, 24.

Nero diſtributes money to the troops even in time of peace, 108.

Nerva, the emperor, adopts Trajan, 108.

Neſtorianiſm, the doctrine of that ſect, 159.

Nobles of Rome oppoſe the plebeians encroaching on them as they had done on the patricians, 57. In what manner the diſtinction of the noble and vaſſal was introduced in Gaul, 138.

North, invaſions of the people of the North, on the empire. See *Invaſions*.

Normans, ancient, compared with the Barbarians who laid waſte the Roman empire, 144.

Numidian cavalry, formerly the moſt famous, 15. Corps of, enter into the Roman ſervice, 24.

O.

Oath, the Romans religious obſervers of an oath, 5, and 67.

The

The Greeks quite otherwiſe, 67. The Romans become leſs ſcrupulous on this head, ib.

Octavius flatters Cicero, and conſults him, 85. The ſenate endeavour to pull him down, 86. And Antony purſues Brutus and Caſſius, ib. Defeats Sextus Pompeius, 87. Excludes Lepidus from the triumvirate, ib. Though not a brave man, gains the affections of the ſoldiers, 88. Surnamed Auguſtus. See *Auguſtus*.

Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, drives the Perſians out of Aſia, 123.

Odoacer, gives the laſt blow to the emperor of the Weſt, 146.

Oppreſſion, total, of Rome, 77.

Ops, temple of, Cæſar had depoſited immenſe ſums in it, 83.

Oroſius, anſwers Symmachus's letter, 140.

Oſroanians, excellent archers, 162.

Otho, the emperor, holds the empire but a ſhort time, 108.

P.

Parthians, repulſe the Romans, why, 36. War againſt them projected by Cæſar, 82. Had no infantry, 111. Carried on by Trajan, ib. Difficulties attending this war, ib. *& ſeq.* Inſtruct Roman refugees, under Severus, in military diſcipline, and afterwards make uſe of them againſt Rome, 217.

Partition of the Roman empire, 123. Occaſions its ruin, why, 128.

Patriarchs, of Conſtantinople, their exorbitant power, 169. Often driven from their ſee by the emperors, ib.

Patricians, their prerogatives under the kings of Rome, 54. raiſe the jealouſy of the plebeians, 58. Humbled by Servius Tullius, 59. To what reduced by time, 57.

Pay, at what time the Romans firſt granted it to their troops, 9. What it was under the different governments of Rome, 117.

Peace, not to be bought with money, why, 133. Inconveniencies of acting contrary to this maxim, ib.

Penalties againſt ſoldiers that proved cowards, renewed by the emperors Julian and Valentinian, 137.

Pergamus,

Pergamus, origin of that kingdom, 35.
Perſians, conquer Syria from the Romans, 122. Take Valerian priſoner, ib. Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, drives them out of Aſia, 123. Advantageous ſituation of their country, 156. Had no wars but with the Romans, 157. As good negociators as ſoldiers, ib. Received a tribute from the Romans, ib.
Pertinax, the emperor, ſucceeds Commodus, 112.
People of Rome want to have a ſhare of the authority of government, 54. Retire to Mons Sacer, 55. Obtain tribunes, ib. Become too numerous, colonies are draughted out, 95. Under Auguſtus loſe the power of making laws, 98. Under Tiberius that of chuſing magiſtrates, ib. Character of the plebeians under the emperors, 106. Baſtardiſement of the Roman people under the emperors, ib.
Phalanx, Macedonian, compared with the Roman legion, 35.
Pharſalia, battle of, 76.
Philip of Macedon ſends very inconſiderable ſuccours to the Carthaginians, 33. His behaviour to his allies, ib. The ſucceſs of the Romans againſt him led them to general conqueſt, 34. A ſucceſſor of the former, joins the Romans againſt Antiochus, 37.
Phillipicus, a piece of bigotry of that general, 163.
Phocas, the emperor, is ſubſtituted in the place of Mauricius, 158. Put to death by Heraclius from Africa, 161.
Plautian, favourite of the emperor Severus, 113.
Plebeians admitted to the magiſtracies, 55. Their forced reſpect for the patricians, ib. How they made themſelves maſters of the ſuffrages, 64. At what time they obtained the privilege of judging the patricians, ib. Diſtinction between theſe two orders aboliſhed by time, 57. Had no averſion to the worſt of emperors, 103.
Polygamy, reſtrained at Conſtantinople weakened the ſtate, 152.
Pompey, commended by Salluſt for his ſtrength and activity, 12. His prodigious conqueſts, 53. By what methods he gained

gained the affections of the people, 71. His ſurprizing ſucceſs therein, 72. Twice abſtains from deſtroying the liberty of Rome when it is in his power, 73. Parallel of Pompey with Cæſar, 73. Corrupts the people with money, ib. Aſpires to the dictatorſhip, ib. Joins Cæſar and Craſſus, ib. The cauſe of his ruin, 74. His foible, to want to be applauded in every thing, ib. Defeated at Pharſalia, retires to Africa, 76.

Pompeius, Sextus, makes head againſt Octavius, 87.

Porphyrogenitus, meaning of that name, 158.

Poſt, a Roman ſoldier puniſhed with death for abandoning his poſt, 137.

Poſts, their uſefulneſs, 160.

Power, how diſtributed in the Roman republic, 63. Roman tradition concerning it, 111. Eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, diſtinction between them, 168. Has its limitations, 172. This diſtinction known to the old Romans, 173.

Predictions, authors of, very common towards the end of the Grecian empire, 159.

Printing, has diffuſed light every where, 7, 160.

Procopius, the credit which his Secret Hiſtory of Juſtinian's reign deſerves, 153.

Proſcriptions, Roman, enrich the dominions of Mithridates, with many Roman refugees, 51. Invented by Sylla, 70. Practiſed by the emperors, 113. Effect of thoſe of Severus, 114.

Ptolomies, the treaſures of the, carried to Rome, what effects they produced there, 127.

Punic war, the firſt, 20. The ſecond, 26. Is terminated by a peace, concluded on conditions very hard for the Carthaginians, 31.

Pyrrhus, the Romans take leſſons from him in the art of war; character of that prince, 19.

R.

Rapine, the only method which the old Romans had to enrich themſelves, 2, 5.

Regillus,

Regillus, lake of, victory obtained by the Romans over the Latins near that lake; the fruits which they gathered from it, 8.

Regulus, defeated by the Carthaginians in the firſt Punic war, 24.

Religion, Chriſtian, what facilitated its eſtabliſhment in the Roman empire, 114.

Relicks, worſhip of, carried to a ridiculous exceſs in the Grecian empire, 164. Effects of this ſuperſtitious worſhip, ib.

Republic, never lodges too much power with one citizen, 72. Roman, quite overturned, 77. Conſternation of the firſt men in the republic, 79. Not free, after the death of the tyrant, 81.

Republics of Italy, how far they obſerved treaties, 2. Defects of their government, 62.

Road, public, well kept up by the Romans, 14.

Romans, their union with the Sabines, 2 and 8, adopt the foreign cuſtoms which appear preferable to their own, 2. Improve in the art of war, 9. New enemies combine againſt them, ib. Religious obſervers of an oath, 6 and 67. Their ſkill in the art of war, how acquired, 5. The old Romans looked on the ſcience of war as the only ſcience, 10.

Roman Commonwealth reſembled the ſtate of Algiers, 120.

Roman ſoldiers, men of prodigious ſtrength, 11. How they were trained, ib. Why let blood for having committed certain faults, 13. Not ſo ſickly as ours, but healthy and vigorous, ib. Defended themſelves by their arms againſt the arms of every other people, 14. Their continual application to the ſcience of war, ib. Compariſon of the old Romans with modern nations, 14.

Romans, parallel of the old Romans with the Gauls, 19. Did not employ foreign troops, 22. Motives of their wars againſt the Carthaginians, 38. Their genius with reſpect to commerce, 33. Their behaviour to their enemies,

enemies and allies, 40. Were never ſincere in any treaty of peace, 41. Eſtabliſhed it as a law, that no Aſiatic king ſhould enter Europe, 44. Their political maxims invariably obſerved at all times, ib. One of the principal was, to ſow diſſention between powers in alliance, ib. Authority which they exerciſed even over kings, ib. Never carried on a diſtant war without being aſſiſted by an ally, neighbour to the enemy, 46. Interpreted treaties with ſubtilty, to turn them to their own advantage, ib. Did not think themſelves bound by treaties which neceſſity had forced their generals to ſign, 47. Inſerted impracticable conditions in their treaties with the vanquiſhed, that they might have a pretence to begin the war again, ib. Set themſelves up as judges, even over kings, ib. Stripped the vanquiſhed of their all, 48. The methods they made uſe of to bring all the gold and ſilver of the univerſe to Rome, ib. The awe they impreſſed on the whole earth, 49. Did not immediately appropriate to themſelves the countries which they reduced, ib. How they ſecure their liberties, 63. Become leſs faithful to their oaths, 67. Love of their country a ſort of religious ſentiment with them, 68. Preſerve their valour even in the midſt of luxury and voluptuouſneſs, ib. Look upon arts and commerce as occupations of ſlaves, 69. Moſt of them of ſervile extraction, 94. Lament the death of Germanicus, 100. Made fierce by their education and cuſtoms, 102. All their power ended in their becoming the ſlaves of a barbarous maſter, 105. Had the Euphrates for their boundaries eſtabliſhed by Adrian, 111. Received ſtrange gods into their city, 115. Impoveriſhed by the Barbarians who ſurrounded them, 135. Become the maſters of the world by their political maxims, ſink to ruin by departing from them, 135. Grow weary of their arms, and change them, ib.

Roman ſoldiers, mixed with the Barbarians, contract the ſpirit

of independence of the latter, 137. Overwhelmed with tributes, 138.

Rome, in her infancy compared with the towns of Crim Tartary, 1. Ill built at firſt, without order, and without ſymmetry, ib. Engaged in almoſt perpetual war with its neighbours, 2. Proſperity, what occaſioned by, 2, 4. In the beginning makes but ſlow advances to greatneſs, 7. Taken by the Gauls, loſes nothing of its ſtrength, 10. The city of Rome alone furniſhes ten legions againſt the Latins, 18. State of, at the time of the firſt Punic war, 20. Parallel of this republic with that of Carthage, ib. State of her forces at the time of the ſecond Punic war, 22. Her ſurprizing firmneſs, notwithſtanding the checks ſhe ſuffered in this war, 27. Was like the head, which gave law to all the ſtates or nations of the univerſe, 50. Permitted the conquered nations to govern themſelves by their own laws, 51. Acquires no new ſtrength by Pompey's conqueſts, 53. Its inteſtine diviſions, 54, *& ſeq.* Excellency of its government, in that it furniſhed the means of correcting its abuſes, 60. Degenerates into anarchy, for what reaſon, 61. Its greatneſs the cauſe of its ruin, 62. Would have become great under any form of government, 66. The methods taken to people it with inhabitants, 94. No longer miſtreſs of the world, but received laws, 115. Received all the riches of Alexandria, 127. Weakened by Conſtantine, 129. Abandoned by its ſovereigns, becomes independent, 146. Cauſes of its deſtruction, 147.

Romulus and his ſucceſſors always at war with their neighbours, 2. He adopts the uſe of the Sabine ſhield, ib.

Rubicon, a river of Ciſalpine Gaul, 74.

S.

Sabines, their union with the Romans, 2. A warlike people, ib.

Salvian, refutes the letter of Symmachus, 140.

Samnites, the moſt warlike people of all Italy, 9. Allies of Pyrrhus,

Pyrrhus, 19. Auxiliaries of the Romans againſt the Carthaginians and Gauls, 22. Accuſtomed to the Roman yoke, ib.

Schiſm between the Latin and Greek church, 176.

School, military, of the Romans, 12.

Scipio Æmilianus, how he treats his men after the defeat near Numantia, 12.

Scipio deprives the Carthaginians of their Numidian horſe, 24.

Scythia, ſtate of that country at the time its inhabitants invaded the Roman empire, 163.

Seleucus, founder of the Syrian empire, 35.

Senate, Roman, had the direction of affairs, 21. Its conſtant maxim, not to treat with an enemy till they had quitted the Roman territory, 27. Its firmneſs after the defeat at Cannæ, and ſingular behaviour towards Terentius Varro, 27. Its profound policy, 39. Its behaviour with the people, 56. Its abjection, 78. After the death of Cæſar, confirms all the acts he had made, 82. Grants indemnity to his murderers, ib. Its mean ſervitude under Tiberius, cauſes thereof, 93. The uſe Tiberius made of the ſenate, 107. Unable to recover its influence, ib.

Severus, the emperor, defeats Niger and Albinus, his competitors for the empire, 112. Governed by Plautian his favourite, 113. Unable to take the city of Atra in Arabia, why, 114. Amaſſes immenſe wealth, by what means, 115. Suffers military diſcipline to grow remiſs, 119.

Shields of the Romans were copied from the Lacedæmonians, 2.

Ships were procured by the Romans from Rhodes, 15.

Shipping of the Carthaginians excels that of the Romans, both very indifferent, 25. Improved by the invention of the ſea-compaſs, ib.

Slaves too numerous at Rome, 92.

Slingers, Balearian, formerly in higheſt repute, 15.

Soldiers, why fatigue kills ours, 11. The number a nation can furniſh at preſent, what it could furniſh formerly, 16.

The number of them in proportion to the people in ancient commonwealths, ib. A burden to Rome, 118.

Spaniards, modern, how they ought to have behaved when they conquered Mexico, 50.

Spoils of the Romans conſiſted of corn and cattle, 2. How divided, 5.

Stoiciſm, ſuicide among the Romans favoured by it, 86. At what time it prevailed moſt among them, 111.

Suevi were ſerviceable infantry, 149.

Suffrages, at Rome, commonly given by tribes, 58.

Suicide, why an heroic action among the Romans, 86.

Survey of the inhabitants of Rome compared with the ſurvey made by Demetrius of thoſe of Athens, 17. Inference drawn from thence of the force of both cities at the time of thoſe ſurveys, ib.

Swimming, a Roman cuſtom, 12.

Sylla employs his ſoldiers in laborious work, 13. Conquers Mithridates, 51. Gives an irreparable blow to Roman liberty, 70. Corrupted the army in Aſia, ib. The firſt that entered Rome in arms, ib. Was the inventor of proſcriptions, ib. Voluntarily abdicates the dictatorſhip, 71. Parallel of Sylla and Auguſtus, 92. Vindicates his conduct, 185.

Sylvius Latinus, founder of the Towns of Latium, 8.

Symmachus, his letter to the emperors concerning the altar of victory, 140.

Syria, power and extent of that empire, 35. The kings of Syria aſpire to the conqueſt of Egypt, ib. Manners and diſpoſition of the people, 36. Luxury and effeminacy of the court, ib.

Sword, the Romans quit their own for the Spaniſh, 15.

T.

Tarentins, idle and voluptuous, 8.

Tarquin, how he aſcended the throne, 3. His ſon raviſhes Lucretia,

Lucretia, conſequences thereof, 3. A more valuable prince than is generally imagined, 4.

Tartars, a nation of the, ſtop the progreſs of the Romans, 162.

Taxes, Rome eaſed of them, 117. Re-eſtabliſhed, 118. Never more neceſſary than when a ſtate is weakened, 127. Carried by the emperors to an intolerable exceſs, 128.

Theodora, the empreſs, reſtores the worſhip of images, abrogated by the Iconoclaſti, 167.

Theodoſius the younger, emperor, with what inſolence Attila ſpeaks of him, 141.

Theſſalians, ſubjected by the Macedonians, 32.

Thraſimenus, the battle of, the Romans loſe it, 26.

Tiberius, the emperor, extends the ſovereign power, 96. Suſpicious and diſtruſtful, ib. In his reign the ſenate ſink into a ſtate of abjection that cannot be expreſſed, 97. Deprives the people of the power of electing magiſtrates, and aſſumes it himſelf, 98. Whether the abject ſtate of the ſenate can be imputed to him, 99. Politics inconſiſtent, 99.

Ticinus, battle of, fatal to the Romans, 26.

Titus, the emperor, the darling of the Roman people, 108.

Titus Livius, cenſured for what he makes Hannibal ſay, 29.

Trajan, the emperor, the moſt accompliſhed prince in hiſtory, 109. Portrait of that prince; he makes war on the Parthians, ib.

Treaty, diſhonourable, can never be excuſed, 37.

Trebia, battle of, the Romans loſe it, 26.

Treaſures, amaſſed by princes, fatal to their ſucceſſors, why, 116. Of the Ptolemies carried to Rome; the conſequences thereof, 127.

Tribes, diviſion of the people by tribes, 59.

Tribunes, their creation, 55. Abridged of their power by Sylla, 70. Held ſacred, 99. Emperors inveſted with the power of the tribunes, ib.

Trinity, by alluſion to the Trinity, the Greeks took it into their heads that they ought to have three emperors, 163.

Triumphs, their origin; in what manner they contributed to the

Roman grandeur, 2. For what they were granted, 6. Uſe of triumphs aboliſhed under Auguſtus, for what reaſon, 93.

Triumvirate, firſt, 72. Second, 85.

Tullius, Servius, compared to Henry VII. of England, 4. Cements the union between the towns of Latium at Rome, 8. Divides the Roman people into centuries, 59. Alters the conſtitution of Rome, 64.

Turks, their empire, at preſent almoſt as weak as the Grecian was, 176. In what manner they conquered Perſia, ib. Driven back to the Euphrates by the Greek emperors, 177. In what manner they made war on the Greeks, and their motives for it, 180. Extinguiſhed the empire of the Eaſt, 181.

Tyrants hate merit, 104. Their fate at Rome, 119.

Tyranny, the moſt cruel is that which is exerciſed under colour of law, 96.

V.

Valens, the emperor, opens the Danube, conſequences of that event, 130. Receives the Goths into the empire, 131. The victim of his imprudent eaſineſs, ib.

Valentinian fortifies the banks of the Rhine, 130. The Germans make war on him, 133.

Valerian, the emperor, taken by the Perſians, 122.

Vandals become incapable of fatigue, 148. Why defeated by Beliſarius, 149. Formidable at the broad ſword, ib.

Varro, Terentius, his ſhameful flight, 27.

Veii beſieged, 9.

Velites, what ſort of troops they were, 15.

Veſpaſian, the emperor, labours to re-eſtabliſh the empire, 107.

Veſſels or ſhips, Rhodian, formerly the beſt ſailors, 15. In former times only coaſted along, 25. Since the invention of the compaſs, ſtand out to ſea, ib.

Vitellius holds the empire but a little time, 108.

Union of a body politic, wherein it conſiſts, 61.

Unhappy, the moſt unhappy are ſtill ſuſceptible of fear, 101.

W.

Wars, perpetual under the Roman kings, 2, 6. Agreeable to the people, on account of the gain they made by them, 5. With what vigour they were carried on by the conſuls, 6. Almoſt uninterrupted under the conſuls, ib. Effects of this continuity, ib. Seldom deciſive in the infancy of Rome, why, 7. Firſt Punic, 20. Second, 26. Ended by a peace concluded on conditions very hard for the Carthaginians, 32.

War and huſbandry, the only two profeſſions of Roman citizens, 69. Of Marius and Sylla, ib. What was their principal motive, ib.

Weſt, empire of the, why they firſt overturned, 132. Not aſſiſted by that of the Eaſt, ib. Over-run by the Viſigoths, ib. A ſtroke of good policy in thoſe who had the government of it, 145. Its fall, 146.

Wives, why a plurality of wives hath always been in uſe in the Eaſt, 152.

Z.

Zama, battle of, gained by the Romans over the Carthaginians, 24.

Zeno, the emperor, perſuades Theodoric to attack Italy, 145.

INDEX

TO THE

PERSIAN LETTERS.

A.

ABDIAS Ibesalon, a Jew, his question to Mahomet, 235.
Academy, French, 296. The people break its decrees, 331. Dictionary of, ib. Character of the members of it, 322.
Actresses, their manners, 252. A letter from one, 253.
Adam, disobedience of, 328. If the first of mankind, 394.
Advocates, judges ought to guard against their arts, 325.
Africa, the interior parts have always been unknown, 392. Coasts of, less peopled now than under the Carthaginians and Romans, 392. Why, 403. Hath always been oppressed by despotism, 427.
Aged, remarks on the behaviour of such, 303.
Agriculture, if only allowed in a state, it would soon be depopulated, 383.
Alchymists, their folly humorously described, 275. Their quacking, 301.
Alexander, compared with Genghis-kan, 344.
Alliance, with a prince, when to be renounced, 364.
Ambassador from Persia, to Lewis XIV. 358.
Ambassadors, an unsuitable demeanor towards them, not a just ground for a war, 363.
Ambrose, St. his heroic zeal degenerated into fanaticism, 306.
America, gold mines of, the cause of its depopulation, 380. Contains not the fiftieth part of its former inhabitants, 391. Not rendered

rendered populous by the number of people continually ſent there, 403, 407. Why, 404.

Anatomy, books of, cenſured, 435.

Ancients, quarrel about them, among the moderns ridiculed, 264.

Antiquarians, their folly, 212.

Apheridon and Aſtarte, their hiſtory, 316.

Armenians, feed upon fiſh only, 278. Tranſported to the province of Guilan, and almoſt all periſhed, 407.

Arragon, ſtate of, expedient to ſettle a diſpute about what language they ſhould debate in with the ſtate of Catalonia, 381.

Arret, to give leave to the French to pronounce the letter Q according to their fancy, 387.

Arts, whether uſeful or hurtful to ſociety, 379. Incompatible with effeminacy and idleneſs, 382. Dependent upon one another, 383.

Aſcetics, books of the, leſs uſeful than thoſe of morality, 434.

Aſia, leſs populous than formerly, 391. As well as America, hath always groaned beneath deſpotiſm, 427.

Aſia Minor, but two or three of its ancient cities remaining, 391.

Aſtrology, though deſpiſed in Europe, governs the affairs of Perſia, 435.

Aſtronomer, account of one, 431.

Authors, moſt of them only acquaint poſterity that they were fools, 314. Moſt of them eſtimate their own glory by the ſize of their works, 309.

B.

Babylonians, ſubject to their wives, in honour of Semiramis, 268.

Balk, a holy city where the Guebres worſhip the ſun, 321.

Barbarians, either cultivated the arts, or obliged thoſe they conquered to do ſo for them, 381. Government of thoſe who deſtroyed the Roman power, 428.

Baſhaws, their tyranny and avarice, 273.
Battle, the panic fear of one ſoldier may determine it, 460.
Batuecas, Las, its proper country unknown, 340.
Beads, how ſerviceable, 255.
Bodies, great, attach themſelves too much to little things, 387.
Biſhops, have oppoſite employments, 254. Their mandates, 381. Infallible judges, 374.
Bombs, their invention hath deſtroyed the liberties of almoſt all the people of Europe, 379.
Books, often immortalize the folly of the writers of them, 314. Original, the reſpect due to them, ib.
Bourbon, iſle of, great healthfulneſs of it, 408.
Brachmans, believe a tranſmigration of the ſoul, 278. The conſequences they draw from that doctrine, ib.

C.

Cabaliſtis, 300.
Capuchins, deſcription of their dreſs, and zeal for making eſtabliſhments in ſtrange countries, 286.
Carthage, the only republic in Africa, 428. The ſucceſſion of their princes ſince Dido, unknown, ib.
Carthaginians diſcovered America, 408. Why they prohibited trading with America, ib.
Carthuſians, their rigorous ſilence, 344.
Caſuiſts, their vain ſubtilties, 300. Their continual danger of loſing their innocence, 433.
Cat, why unclean among the Mahometans, 236.
Catalonia, the ſtate of, how determined a diſpute with the ſtate of Arragon, concerning what language they ſhould debate in, 388.
Catholiciſm, leſs favourable to propagation than Proteſtaniſm, 401.
Ceſar, deſtroyed the liberty of the Romans, 428.
Celibacy, eſteemed holy among the Roman-Catholics, 401. The ſanctity of it contradictory to their doctrine about marriage, ib. Puniſhed at Rome, ib.

Ceremonies, religious not good in themſelves, 277.
Chambers of juſtice, 369.
Charms, if of any virtue, 458. Their uſe among the Jews and Mahometans, ib.
Charity, one of the principal virtues in all religions, 277.
Charles XII. his death, 417.
Chemiſtry, its ravages, 380.
Children, born in wedlock counted the huſband's, 352.
China, why ſo populous, 405.
Chriſtians, cultivate the land of the Turks, yet perſecuted by them, 237. Moſt of them deſirous to gain paradiſe by the eaſieſt means, 300. Begin to lay aſide their tolerating ſpirit, 305. Do not ſeem ſo firmly perſuaded of their religion as the Mahometans, 334. Of Rome, count marriages a myſtery, 400.
Chriſtianity, compared with Mahometiſm, 263. A daughter of the Jewiſh religion, 304. Not favourable to propagation, 399.
Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, abdicated her crown, 442.
Church, hiſtory of the, its effect on thoſe who read it, 436. People of the, deſpiſe lawyers and ſoldiers, 273.
Circaſſia, kingdom of, almoſt a deſert, 391.
Circaſſians, the care the eunuchs take in buying them for their maſters, 340.
Cities, great, deſired by travellers, 243. Since when the guard of them no longer entruſted to the citizens, 379.
Coffee-houſe, company there, characterized, 264.
Collection, of bons mots, their uſe, 295.
Collectors, of taxes, 369.
Colonies, unfavourable to population, 253. Thoſe whom the Romans ſent into Sardinia, died there, 407. Conſtantinople and Iſpahan would be deſtroyed, if not for them, 396.
Comedies, deſcribed, 252.
Commerce, when to ceaſe between nation and nation, 363.
Commerce, flouriſhes in proportion to the number of people, 402.

Commentators, have a diſpenſation from common ſenſe, 434.
Compilers, the moſt deſpicable of writers, 314. Compared to compoſitors in printing-houſes, ib.
Compaſs, the invention of it, to what it hath contributed, 380.
Confeſſors, heirs love them leſs than phyſicians, 300. Of kings, have a difficult taſk to manage, 384.
Conqueſt, gives no right of itſelf, 348.
Conſcience, liberty of, 349.
Conſtantinople, cauſes of its depopulation, 396. Not helped by colonies, 407.
Conſtitutions of the popes, made part of the French laws, 372.
Conſtitution, Unigenitus, how received in France, 245. Converſation about the ſame, 373.
Courouc, with the Perſian what, 279.
Court, ſincerity not ſafe there, 297. Of juſtice, 351.
Courtiers, their covetouſneſs, 336. Their penſions burthenſome to the people; an humorous ordinance about them, 336.
Cunning, folks, the arts they live by, 303.
Czar, deſpotic, 289. See *Peter* I.

D.

Decretals, in France, having place of the laws of the country, 372.
Deciders, impertinent, in converſation, 330.
Deluge, whether that of Noah was the only one, 394.
Depopulation, of the world, the cauſes of it, 297. I. A perpetual conflict among the principles, of the world, 393. II. Mahometiſm, 395. 1. Polygamy, ib. 2. The great number of eunuchs, 396. 3. The great number of female ſlaves attending in ſeraglios, ib. III. The Chriſtian religion, 399. 1. Prohibition of divorces, ib. 2. Celibacy of the prieſts, and other religious, 401. IV. The mines in America, 403. V. Popular opinions, 404. 1. The belief that this life is only a road to another, 405. 2. The law of primogeniture,

ture, ib. VI. The manner of life of the ſavages, 406. 1. Their averſion to huſbandry. ib. 2. The neglect of commerce between the different hords, ib. 3. The voluntary abortions of their women, ib. VII. Colonies, 407. VIII. The ſeverity of government, 410.

Deſpair, equals weakneſs to ſtrength, 365.

Deſpotiſm, extinguiſhes honour, 357. Reduces princes to the condition of their ſubjects, 376. Its inconveniences, ib. Diſpoſes malecontents to attempt the life of their ſovereign, 375. Is horrible and abſurd to the laſt degree, 486. Debaſes mankind, 487. The wiſeſt kings oppreſs their ſubjects to arrive at it, 488.

Dictionary, of the Academy, 331.

Diſgrace, in Europe only attended by the loſs of the favour of the prince, but in Aſia followed by that of life, 375.

Directors, ſpiritual; their character, 382.

Diviners, their art, 301.

Divorces, favourable to propagation, 395. The prohibition of them deſtroys the end of marriage, 399.

Don Quixotte, the only good Spaniſh books, 340.

Dreſs, an uncommon one, attracts the public attention, 256.

Duels, the ſuppreſſion of them praiſed; why, 303. What their principles, 358. Enjoined by the laws of honour, but forbid by thoſe of the ſtate, ib.

Duties on wine, make it dear at Paris, 259.

E.

Earth, parts of it grown weary of ſupplying ſubſiſtence to man, 394.

Eccleſiaſtics, the advantages and diſadvantages attending, 306. The difficult part they have to act, ib. Their attempt to make proſelytes often dangerous to them, 207.

Education, advantages of it, 490. What ought to be aimed at therein, ib. Circumſtances prejudicial thereto in France, ib. Worſe at court than elſewhere, and why, 491.

Egypt, not populous, 392. The men there ſubject to their wives, in honour of Iſis, 268.

Emperor's poſſeſſions, form one of the moſt conſiderable kingdoms in Europe, 374.

England, one of the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Europe, 374. Power of their kings, 378. Short view of its government, 437.

Engliſh, their political maxims, 378.

Epic poems, if more than two of them, 438.

Epigrams, the moſt dangerous kind of poetry, 439.

Epitaph, an extraordinary one, 353.

Eſtates, what kind moſt convenient, 263.

Eunuchs, their buſineſs in a ſeraglio, 210. Want of manhood their leaſt imperfection, 215. Loſe the gratification but not the foundation of the paſſions, 219. 1. Their miſery doubled by ſeeing the happineſs of man, ib. 2. Their conditions in old age, 220. How looked upon in the eaſt, 241. The place they hold between both ſexes, ib. Their very wills the property of their maſter, ib. Their character, 262. Their marriages, 293, 294. 4. Can only inſpire innocence, 341. 5. Have leſs authority over their wives than other huſbands, 320. Their great number in Aſia, one cauſe of its depopulation, 396. White, puniſhed with death, for being found alone with one of the women in the ſeraglio, 239.

Eunuch, the chief white, the dangers he will incur if negligent, 241.

Eunuchs, the chief of the black, his hiſtory, 311. Would have made a black ſlave an eunuch, 271. The diſorders occaſioned in the ſeraglio by his death, 475.

Europe, the principal ſtates in it, 374. Moſt of the monarchies, 375. The principal ſecurity of its monarchs ariſes from their being public, 377. Malecontents there effect but ſlight commotions, ib.

Europe, hath long groaned under a military government, 428.

Europeans,

Europeans, carry on all the trade of the Turks, 238. Are as much affected by being diſgraced, as the Orientals by the loſs of a limb, 342.

F.

Farmers, general, character of one of them, 282.
Faſhion, the caprices of it, 370.
Fathers, reſpect to them, promotes propagation, 405.
Favour, the great divinity of the French, 354.
Finances, reduced to a ſyſtem in Europe, 440.
Financiers, their character and riches, 369.
Flammel, Nicholas, reported to have found the philoſophers ſtone, 276.
Fop, his character, 288.
Founders of empires, almoſt all of them ignorant of the arts, 379.
Footmen, their body a ſeminary of great lords, 369.
Fore-knowledge, ſeems incompatible with divine juſtice, 327.
Formalities, in law, as hurtful as in phyſic, 372.
Free-will, irreconcileable with fore-knowledge, 328.
France, the king of, a great magician, 245. The people of, divided into three different profeſſions, reciprocally deſpiſing each other, 274. Hath found the hurt of haraſſing the Huguenots, 305. Frequent revolutions in the fortunes of the ſubjects, 369. One of the moſt powerful ſtates in Europe, 374. Kings of, how long ſince they took guards, 376. The ſight of the kings of, entitles a criminal to his pardon, ib. The number of its preſent inhabitants, not equal to thoſe in the times of the ancient Gauls, 391. Its war with Spain, during the regency, 437. Revolutions of the authority of their kings, ib.
French, their quick motion in walking, oppoſed to the grave pace of the Orientals, 244. Their vanity a ſource of riches to kings, 245. Not unworthy of the eſteem of ſtrangers, 281. Why they ſeldom talk of their wives, 296. Why few jealous huſbands among them, 297. Their inconſtancy

inconſtancy in love, 298. Playing the fool natural to them; every thing ſerious appearing ridiculous to them, 310. Fond of being thought wits, 283. Would appear as madmen to a Spaniard, 341. Their civil laws, 351. Seem only made for ſociety, 352. Favour their great divinity, 354. Their inconſtancy in faſhions ridiculed, 371. Change their manners with the age and character of their kings, ib. Fonder of regulating the affairs of the world, than attending to their own, ib. Having renounced their own to adopt foreign laws, 372. Not ſo effeminate as they appear, 382. The efficacy they attribute to ridiculing thoſe who have diſpleaſed them, 389. Have adopted the Roman laws for the uſeful ones of their own, 422. The ſyſtem of Mr. Law, hath turned to vices the virtues that were natural to them, 441. Women do not pique themſelves on their, conſtancy, 298. Their faſhions, 370. See *Women.*

Funeral pomp, uſeleſs, 271.

Furetiere, his dictionary, 331.

G.

Gaming, much practiſed in Europe, 298. Prohibited by Mahomet, 299. Followed by women in France moſtly when old, 298.

Gameſters, reſpected as gentlemen, 298. Female, their characters, 299.

Gaul, ancient, more populous than France is now, 391. Originally peopled from Italy, 427.

Genealogiſts, 430.

Genoa, hath nothing to boaſt of but its buildings, 437.

Genghis-kan, a greater conqueror than Alexander, 344.

Geometrician, entertaining account of one, 418.

Geometricians, force men to aſſent to their arguments, 435.

Germany, the little princes of it martyrs of ſovereignty, 374. How it ſupports itſelf, ib.

Glory,

Glory, what it is; why the people of the north are more attached to it than those of the south, 355.

Glossaries, writers of, have a dispensation from common sense, 434.

God, the surest way to please him, 277. Will neither break his promises, nor change the essence of things, 326. How can he see future events, 327. Opposite attributes ascribed to him, ib. Cannot commit injustice, 346. False ideas of him taught by doctors, 347. No succession of time in him, 394.

Gods, why represented of human figure, 304.

Gold, the mark of the value of goods, 380. Ought not to be too common, ib.

Good company, what it is, 283.

Gortz, Baron, condemned to lose his head, 340.

Government, which the most perfect, 341. A mild one favourable to the propagation of mankind, 410. English, has nothing to support it but a delusive outside, 487.

Grammarians, have a dispensation from common sense, 434.

Great persons, are secured of respect, and have only to render themselves beloved, 333. What follows their fall, 417. The difference between those of France and Persia, 354. A satirial account of one, 333.

Greece, contains not the hundreth part of the former inhabitants, 391. Governed at first by kings, 427. How republics became established there, ib.

Guards, since what time used by the kings of France, 376.

Guebres, their religion one of the most ancient, 316, 321. Command brothers and sisters to marry together, 316. Worship the sun, 320. What they worship, ib. Speak the ancient Persic language, 318. Do not shut up their wives, 319. Zoroaster their legislator, 321. Their marriage ceremonies, 322. Persecuted in Persia, removed in multitudes into the Indies, 348.

Guinea, a king on the coast of, thought his name was known

from pole to pole, 274. Greatly depopulated by the loſs of ſlaves tranſported from thence, 403.

Gun powder, no place impregnable ſince the invention of it, 379. Wars ſhortened by it, and rendered leſs bloody, ib.

Guriel, kingdom of it, almoſt a deſert, 392.

Guſtaſpe, and Hohoraſpe, reverenced by the Guebres, 400.

H.

Haly, a Perſian prophet, 262. His ſword called Zufager, 232.

Happineſs eternal, a falſe idea of it hurtful to propagation, 405.

Henry IV. brought up in the ſchool of affliction, 486.

Hereſiarchs, 340.

Hereſies, 255, 303.

High-treaſon, what amongſt the Engliſh, 302.

Hog, why unclean, according to Mahomet, 235.

Hohoraſpe, revereneed by the Guebres, 322.

Holland, rendered populous by the mildneſs of its government, 409. Its power, 437.

Homer, diſputes about him, 264.

Hoſpital for blind men, 259.

Honour, an idol among the French, 356.

Huguenots, 305.

Human ſpecies, the revolutions it hath ſuffered, 391, 411. Reduced to a tenth of its former number, 392. See *Depopulation*.

Humanity, one of the moſt eſſential virtues in all religion, 277.

I.

Janſeniſts, 246.

Japhet, relates, by order of Mahomet, what paſſed in Noah's ark, 235.

Idleneſs, prevented by the arts, 382.

Idolaters, why they repreſent their gods of human figure, 304.

Idyllium, authors of, pleaſing to courtiers, 439.

Jealouſy,

Jealouſy, extraordinary, of the orientals, 214. Proves the dependency of men upon the women, 308.

Jealous men, deſpiſed by the French, 297.

Jews, collect the tribute in Turky, and perſecuted by the baſhaws, 237. Are to ride a high trot to hell on the backs of the Turks, 262. Look upon rabbits as unclean, 278. Are in all monied countries, 304. Obſtinately tenacious of their religion, ib. Enjoy a greater calm in Europe than ever before, 305. Look upon Chriſtians and Turks as heretical Jews, ib. Their books oppoſe the doctrine of abſolute fore-knowledge, 328. Why they multiply, though often exterminated, 327. Not recovered from their deſtruction, under Adrian, 329. Believe in the virtue of taliſmans, &c. 458. Their religion the mother of Chriſtianity and Mahometiſm, 304.

Ignorant perſons would have learned men buried in oblivion with them, 470.

Imans, are the chiefs of moſques, 233.

Impurity, how contracted, 234.

Induſtry, the revenues ariſing from it, 383.

Inquiſition, the manner of its proceeding, 255. The fondneſs of the Spaniards for this tribunal, 340. Compliments thoſe it deſtroys, ib.

Intereſt, the greateſt monarch upon earth, 382.

Interpreters of ſcriptures have only corrupted its ſenſe, 433.

Invalids, hoſpital of, 347.

Journaliſts, pleaſe lazy people, 386. Ought to ſpeak of ancient as well as modern books, ib. Are generally tireſome, why, 387.

Irimetta, kingdom of, almoſt a deſert, 392.

Iſpahan, as large as Paris, 244. Cauſes of its depopulation, 396.

Italy, women of, enjoy greater liberty than thoſe of the eaſt, 243. The princes of, martyrs of ſovereignty, 374. The countries of it much expoſed, ib. Nothing now but the wrecks of its former condition, 391. Originally peopled

from Greece, 427. Hath nothing remaining of ſovereignty but its vain policy, 428.

Judges, their buſineſs and fatigues, 325. Ought to guard againſt the arts of the advocates, 326.

Juſtice, defined, 346. The ſame in all beings, ib. Intereſt and paſſion ſometimes conceal it from men, ib. Ought to be beloved independent of all other conſiderations, ib. That which governs nations compared with that which governs private perſons, 363. Divine, incompatible with fore-knowledge, 326.

K.

Kings, their liberality burthenſome to their ſubjects, 413. Their ambition is never ſo dangerous as the baſeneſs of their miniſters, 418. The wiſeſt oppreſs their ſubjects to arrive at deſpotiſm, 488. Of the weſt, their character never known till tried by their miſtreſſes, or confeſſors, 384.

Koran, does not ſufficiently explain more truth, 223. Conſtantly oppoſes the doctrine of fore-knowledge, 328. Full of trifles pompouſly expreſſed, 368. Its precepts concerning the duties of marriage oppoſite to propagation, 395.

L.

Lacedæmonians, republic of, compoſed but of one family, 400.

Land, grown weary of furniſhing ſubſiſtence for man, 394.

Law, of nations, better known in Europe than in Aſia, 362. All its principles corrupted, ib. What it is, 363. Mr. the ſtrange reverſe of fortune he occaſioned, 364. His ſcheme allegorically deſcribed, 455.

Laws, whether applicable to every caſe, 325. Rules according to which they ought to be made, 421. Inconvenient to deviate from them, ib. Roman, adopted in France inſtead of thoſe of the country, 372.

Learned, their fondneſs for their own opinions, 464. The unhappineſs of their condition, 469. Letter on that ſubject, 467.

Legiſlators,

Legiſlators, of, 241.
Leghorn, a flouriſhing city in Italy, 234.
Lewis XIV. 246. His character, 266. His death, 359. His fondneſs for women in his old age, 385.
Lewis XV. his character, 384.
Library, account of one, 431.
Liberty promotes opulence and propagation, 410. Where and how it may be enjoyed, 488.
Lenitivum, 464.
Lionne, count of, preſident of the Quidnuncs, 424.
Love, deſtroyed in a ſeraglio, 220. A languid paſſion in the Mahometans, 299. Self-love, well underſtood what it is, 288.
Luxury, the ſource of a prince's revenue, 383.

M.

Magi, their precepts promote propagation, 404.
Mahomet, how he proved hogs to be unclean, 235. Signs that preceded and accompanied his birth, 269. Gave men the ſuperiority over women, 270.
Mahometans, believe a pilgrimage to Mecca cleanſes them from impurities contracted among Chriſtians, 231.
Mahometans, in what they make impurity to conſiſt, 234. Their ſurpriſe at their firſt coming into a Chriſtian city, 243. Why abhor the city of Venice, 258. Their princes, though forbid, drink wine to a greater exceſs than Chriſtian princes, 259. Know their wives before marriage only by the report of the women who educated them, 329. Allowed to put away their wives, if not maids at the time of marriage, ib. Seem more fully perſuaded of their religion than Chriſtians, 334. Their reaſons for not conquering certain countries, 335. Their ideas of a future life, its conſequence, 405. Place great virtue in taliſmans, &c. 458.
Mahometiſm, compared with Chriſtianity, 263. A daughter of the Jewiſh religion, 304. Deprives women of all hope

in the next life, 320. Eſtabliſhed by conqueſt, and not by perſuaſion, ib.

Mahometiſm, unfavourable to propagation, 395.

Maine, duke of, impriſoned, 416.

Malady, venereal, how dangerous it hath been to the human ſpecies, 393.

Malta, knight of, 238.

Mandates, how troubleſome to the biſhops to make, 373.

Marriage, children born in, accounted the huſband's, 352.

Marriages, their end deſtroyed by the prohibition of divorces, 399. Made a myſtery by the Roman Catholics, 400. Its holineſs contradictory to that of celibacy, 401.

Maſters of ſciences, moſt of them ignorant of what they pretend to teach, 338.

Mazarine, ridiculed, 390.

Mecca, 231.

Melancholy, the Orientals method of curing it the beſt, 260.

Men, their way of thinking about women, 217. Only happy by the practice of virtue: illuſtrated by a hiſtory, 223, 231. Know not how to time their joy or ſorrow, 271. Judge of others according their own idea of things, 274. Judge of every thing with a ſecret regard to themſelves, 303. Their jealouſy proves their dependence on women, 308. Think themſelves of great importance in the univerſe, 337. Do not always ſee the relations of juſtice, 346. Their intereſt what they ſee beſt, ib. Their principal ſecurity ariſes from a ſenſe of juſtice in others, 347. Of their hopes and fears, 459. Their falſe hopes and fears make them unhappy, ib. Of fortune, their characters, 285.

Metaphyſicians, their principal object, 434. Of parts, 466. Catch the ſpirit of the body to which they belong, 296.

Mines, the labour of the, one cauſe of the depopulation of America, 404.

Mind, of man, a contradiction to itſelf, 259.

Miniſtry, ſincerity the ſoul of a great, 470.

Miniſters, thoſe who deprive the people of the confidence of their king, deſerve to ſuffer a thouſand deaths, 417. The cauſe

cauſe of their maſter's wickedneſs, 418. Their uncertain ſtate, 440. Their unfaithfulneſs diſhonours the whole ſtate, that of private perſons only a few, 471. Their bad example, the worſt thing they can do, ib.

Miraculum chymicum, 464.

Moderns, ridiculed for quarrelling about the ancients, 264.

Modeſty, its advantages above vanity, 466.

Mogul, weighed every year like an ox, 271. Pleaſant hiſtory of a woman of that country, who wanted to burn herſelf with the corpſe of her huſband, 416.

Monks, the great number of them, their vows how obſerved, 299. Their profeſſion of poverty prevents it, 300.

Mollaks, 223.

Monarchs, why thoſe of Europe do not exerciſe ſo much power as the ſultans, 375.

Monarchy, the prevailing government in Europe, 374. Whether there ever was a government truly ſuch, 375. The firſt kind of government known, 427.

Monachiſm, a cauſe of depopulation, 401. Its abuſes, ib.

Monteſquieu, M. de, gives his own character in the perſon of Uſbek, 280.

Moors, their expulſion out of Spain felt there to this day, 408.

Morality, not ſufficient to be perſuaded of the truths of it, we muſt be made, as it were to feel them, 223. Books of, more uſeful than Aſcetics, 433.

Moral, truths, depend upon circumſtances, 334.

Moſes, 328.

Muſcovy, the only chriſtian ſtate whoſe intereſt is united with that of Perſia, 289. Its extent, ib.

Muſcovites, all ſlaves except four families, 289. To what place baniſhed, ib. Forbid wine, ib. How they receive ſtrangers, ib. Women love to be beat by their huſbands, ib. A letter on that ſubject, 290. Cannot quit their country, ib. Strong attachments to their beards, 291.

Motion, the laws of, conſtitute the ſyſtem of nature; what they are, 367.

Muſtapha, how raiſed to the empire, 343.
Muſſulmans. See Mahometans.
Myſtics, their ecſtaſies the delirium of devotion, 435.

N.

Nations, the laws of, 362. How they ought to be uſed, 363.
Negroes, why they paint their gods black, and the devil white, 303.
*N**** merry about the chamber of juſtice, eſtabliſhed to make the collectors diſgorge, 290. Endeavours to eſtabliſh the finances, 441.
Newſmongers, or Quidnuncs, their character, 423. Two humorous letters on this ſubject, 324, 325.
North, under no neceſſity to ſend out colonies, as formerly, 391. Of the freedom of, and kings of the, 427.

O.

Opera, 253.
Opulence, always accompanies liberty, 410.
Orations, funeral, 271.
Orators, 294.
Orientals, why leſs gay than the Europeans, 281. Their ſeraglios the tomb of their deſires, 214. How they cure melancholy, 260. The little converſation they hold with each other, the cauſe of their gravity, 261. The errors of their education, 262. Are not more puniſhed by loſing a member, than an European is by being only diſgraced, 342.
Orientals, the arbitrary power of their princes reduces them, to the condition of their ſubjects, 375. The care their princes are obliged to take to preſerve their lives, ib. Their princes keeping themſelves inviſible, procures reſpect to the throne, rather than to themſelves, 376. Their poems and romances, 438, 439.
Oſman, how depoſed, 434.
Oſmanlins, 214. See Turks.

P.

Palais, le, 351.

Paradiſe, every religion gives a different account of the pleaſures of it, 414, 415.

Paris, 243, 244. Embarraſſes ſtrangers, ib. Built in the air, ib. Great hurry in the ſtreets, ib. Various ways of ſharping there, 245, 301, 302. Every body there live by their wit, 245, 302. Learns ſtrangers to be cautious, 302. All conditions confounded together there, 354. The greateſt luxury and the greateſt induſtry to be met with there, 383. Different ways of getting money there, 301, 302.

Pariſians, their ridiculous curioſity, 256.

Parliaments, what they are, 359. The matters debated there, 351. Determined by the majority of voices, 352. An important affair decided there, 387. Baniſhed to Poutoiſe, why, 443.

Paternal power, of great ſervice, 422.

Peaſants, 410.

Peculium, what, 397.

Perſia, at what age the females there are ſhut up in the ſeraglios, 307. Its loſs by perſecuting the ſect of the Guebres, 349. Who reckoned great there, 354. An ambaſſador from thence to Lewis XIV. 358. Governed by two or three women, 385. But a ſmall number of inhabitants there, to what there was in the time of the Dariuſes and Xerxeſes, 391. Few of the inhabitants huſbandmen, 397. Why ſo populous formerly, 404. All affairs there regulated by aſtrology, 435. Taxes there raiſed in the ſame way as formerly, 440.

Perſians, ſeldom travel, 209. Their hatred of the Turks, 214. Carefully conceal their being married to a handſome wife, 299. Their authority over their wives, 313. A ſpecimen of their tales, 445.

Perſian

Perſian women, command and obey their eunnchs at the ſame time, 210. The means they practiſe to obtain a ſuperiority in the ſeraglio, 212. Not permitted to be in private even with their own ſex, 213, 280, 473. Never ſee but one man, 215. More cloſely kept up than the Turkiſh and Indian women, 214. Changes of empire, and ſubmiſſion in the ſeraglio between the women and eunuchs, 221. All commerce with white eunuchs forbid them, 239. Their coyneſs after marriage, 248. Their manner of travelling, and men attempting to look at them killed, 285. Rather chuſe to periſh than ſave their lives by expoſing themſelves to the view of men, 281. Their conduct uniform, becauſe conſtrained, 311. Diſſentions among them, ib. In what their happineſs conſiſts, 330. Forced to diſguiſe their real paſſions, 366. Whipping one of their puniſhments, 481. Tale, 444, 452.

Peter I. the changes he introduced into Ruſſia; his character, 291.

Petits-maitres, their buſineſs at the play-houſe, 252. Have the art of ſpeaking without ſaying any thing, 344. Teach their ſnuff-boxes, &c. to talk for them, ib.

Philip of Orleans, regent of France, 360.

Philoſophy, its ill agreement with divinity, 314.

Philoſophers-ſtone, the folly of the ſearchers after it humorouſly deſcribed, 275.

Phyſic, the formality of it, as that of the law, 372. Books of, adminiſter fear and conſolation at the ſame time, 435. Monuments of human frailty, ib.

Phyſics, the ſimplicity of thoſe of the moderns, 367.

Phyſicians, better eſteemed by heirs than confeſſors, 298. Extraordinary receipt of a country phyſician, 452.

Pilgrimage to Mecca, 231. To St. James in Galica, 255.

Poems, epic, 438.

Poets, their character, 282. Their buſineſs, 438, 439. Dramatic, ib. Lyric, ib.

Point of honour, what it is, 357.

Polygamy,

Polygamy, a book in favour of it, 263. Hinders population, 395.

Poland, almoſt a deſert, 391. The bad uſe it makes of its liberty, 438.

Pomp, funeral, the uſeleſſneſs of it, 271.

Pope, a greater magician than the king of France, 245.

Popes, their power and riches, 254. The effect their hiſtory produces in the minds of readers, 436.

Portugueſe, hate the French, and deſpiſe all other nations, 338. Gravity, pride, and idleneſs, form their character, ib. Jealous, and bigots, 339. Fondneſs for the inquiſition and great ſuperſtition, 340. Their example ſufficient to cure the deſire of making foreign conqueſts, 408. Their looſe government in the Indies loſt them all their conqueſts, 409.

Prejudices promote, or hinder, population, 404.

Prieſts of all religions reſpectable, 361.

Prince, an arbitrary, leſs maſter than a limited monarch, 343. In danger from his great power, ib.

Primogeniture, law of, unfavourable to propagation, 405.

Profeſſions, each man eſteems his own, 274.

Proteſtantiſm, more favourable to propagation than Catholiciſm, 401.

Ptiſan, purgative, 463.

Puniſhments, why they ought to be moderate, 358. Their being proportioned to the offence committed, a ſecurity to the princes of Europe, and the contrary practice dangerous thoſe of Aſia, 375.

Purgative, a violent, 463.

Q.

Quacks, the ſeveral kinds at Paris, 301.

Quietiſt, deſcribed, 433.

R.

Rat, why unclean, according to the Mahometans, 236.

Raymond, Lully, ſearched in vain for the philoſopher's ſtone, 276.

Regency, 441, 442.

Regent. See Philip of Orleans.

Religion, whether God will puniſh men for not practiſing a religion they never knew, 263. Charity and humanity the firſt laws of it, 277. Deſigned by God to make man happy, ib. A zeal for the progreſs of it, different from that attachment which ought to be preſerved for it, 305. Rather a matter of diſpute among Chriſtians than of holineſs, 334. The belief of it among Chriſtians ſeems to depend upon circumſtances, ib.

Religions, the great number of them an hindrance to an inquirer, a remarkable prayer upon that occaſion, 277. Multiplicity of them, if uſeful in a ſtate, 349. The different kinds of happineſs promiſed by them, 415.

Religion, Chriſtian, not favourable to propagation, 399. Jewiſh, the mother of Chriſtianity and Mahometiſm, takes in the world, and all times, 304. Mahometan, prejudicial to propagation, 395. Of the ancient Romans, favourable to propagation, ib.

Remedy, for an aſthma, 464. For the itch, ib. In chloroiſm, 465.

Repriſals, juſt, 363.

Republics, the ſanctuaries of honour, reputation and virtue, 356. Leſs ancient than monarchies, 427.

Reſpect, always ſhewn to great perſons, who have therefore nothing to do but to make themſelves beloved, 333.

Rica, the companion of Uſbek in his travels, his character, 247.

Riches, why Providence hath not made them the reward of virtue, 370.

Robe, thoſe of the long, deſpiſe thoſe of the church and ſword, 247.

Romances, 439.

Romans, were ſubject to their wives, 268. Part of thoſe who deſtroyed their empire were originally Tartars, 344. Their religion favoured propagation, 395. Their ſlaves filled their ſtate with an innumerable people, 398. The criminals they baniſhed to Sardinia all died there, 407. Many monarchies formed upon the ruins of their empire, as theirs had been upon the ruin of others, 437.

Rome, ancient, the prodigious number of its inhabitants, 391. Celibacy puniſhed there, 401. Original of this republic oppreſſed by Cæſar, 408.

Roxana, wife of Uſbek, Uſbek boaſts of her virtue, 241. Her coyneſs during the firſt months of her marriage, 248. Preſerves the appearance of virtue during the diſorders of the ſeraglio, 476. Complains to Uſbek of the ſeverities of the chief eunuch to his other wives, 480. Surpriſed in the arms of a young man, 483. Poiſons herſelf: her letter to Uſbek, 484.

S.

Samos, king of, why a king of Egypt renounced his alliance, 364.

Santons, a kind of monks; the opinion the Muſſulmans have of their ſanctity, 360.

Sauromates, 268.

Savages, their cuſtoms prejudicial to population, 406.

Schoolmen, 265.

Sciences, 217. Occult, books of them, 435.

Scriptures, have many interpreters, but little explained, 433.

Self-love, well underſtood what it is, 188.

Seneca, an author of little comfort to the afflicted, 260.

Senſes, their pleaſures not real happineſs, 223. A hiſtory on this ſubject, 223, 231. Judges of what is, or is not, impure, 234.

Seraglio, its internal government, 210, 211, 220, 232, 310, 366. Love deſtroyed there, 214. The unhappineſs of the women ſhut up there, 216. Better adapted for health

health than pleaſure, 161. At what age the women are ſhut up there, 307. Diſorders there, ib. Perſons coming too near them killed, 279. The women ſervants belonging to it ſeldom marry, 396. No two women allowed to be there in private together, 470. Diſorders which happened in that of Uſbek, 473. Solin fills it with blood, 483.

Severity, 223.

Siberia, 289.

Shopkeepers, of the, at Paris, 302.

Sicily, 391.

Sincerity, odious at courts, 217. The ſoul of a great miniſtry, 470.

Slavery, 335.

Slaves of the Romans, 397.

Smyrna, a rich and powerful city, 238.

Society, how freely enjoyed by ſome of the French, 354. What it is; its original, 362.

Soldiers, 284.

Songs, ſatirical, their effects on the French, 389.

Soporific, an extraordinary one, 461.

Soul, if it determines freely of itſelf, 327.

Sovereigns, ſhould rather ſeek for ſubjects than territories, 381.

Spain, one of the greateſt ſtates in Europe, 374. Originally peopled from Italy, 427. Hath experienced the bad conſequence of having expelled the Jews, 305. Feels to this day the hurt of having expelled the Moors, 408. A vaſt kingdom, but a deſert, 340. Far leſs populous than anciently, 391. Inſtead of ſending colonies to the Indies, ought to ſend for them from thence, to repeople its own country, 408. Retains nothing of its ancient ſtate but its pride, 437.

Spaniards, hate the French, and deſpiſe all other nations, 338. Gravity, pride, and lazineſs form their character, ib. What they chiefly value themſelves for, 338, 339. How rewarded by love, 339. Their jealouſy and ridiculous ſuperſtition,

ſuperſtition, ib. Allow their wives to ſhow their naked boſoms, but not their heels, leſt they ſhould be catched by the foot, ib. Their inſulting politeneſs, 340. Their fondneſs for the inquiſition, and certain monkiſh tricks, ib. Have good ſenſe themſelves, but none muſt be looked for in their books, ib. Have diſcovered the new world, but not all their own, ib. Are a proper example to cure the arduous deſire in princes to make diſtant conqueſts, 409. The horrid barbarity they practiſed to preſerve their conqueſts, ib. See *Portugueſe*.

Strangers, learn to take care of their effects by having been at Paris, 302.

Subordination, 307.

Suicide, the laws of Europe againſt this crime, 335.

Sun, worſhipped by the ſect of the Guebres, 320. How, ib. Honoured at the city of Balk, 321.

Superſtition, 340.

Switzerland, the mildneſs of its government hath rendered it more populous than any part of Europe, 410. The emblem of liberty, 437.

Sword, the men of the, deſpiſe thoſe of the long robe, and are deſpiſed by them, 274.

Syſtem of Mr. Law, its bad effects, 430. Compared to a judicial aſtrologer, 436. An allegory of his hiſtory, 455. On the ſame, 471.

T.

Taliſmans, the Mahometans place great value in them, 458.

Tartars, the greateſt conquerors in the world; their conqueſts, 344.

Tartary, cham of, daily inſults all the princes of the world, 247.

Temptations, follow us every where, 361.

Thebais, of the ſolitaries there, 309.

Theodoſius, his crime and penance, 306.

Theological, tracts, 433.

Theology, agrees badly with philoſophy, 314.
Toleration, 305, 349.
Tranſlators, ſpeak for the ancients, who thought for themſelves, 420.
Travelling, more dangerous to women than to men, 280.
Treaties of peace, 364.
Troglodites, their hiſtory, to prove that there is no happineſs but in the practice of virtue, 225, 231.
Turks, the cauſes of the decay of their empire, 237, 238. Families among them that never laughed, 261. Are to ſerve as aſſes to carry the Jews in a high trot to hell, 262.
Turky, will be conquered in two centuries, 238. The taxes raiſed there the ſame way as they were always, 440. In Europe, almoſt a deſert, 391. In Aſia, the ſame, ib.
Tuſcany, dukes of, have raiſed a marſhy village to the moſt flouriſhing city in Italy, 243.
Tyen, a divinity of the Chineſe, 405.

V.

Vanity, 466.
Venice, the ſingular ſituation of that city, 258. Why abhorred by Muſſulmans, ib. Oeconomy its only refuge, 438.
Venus, how repreſented by ſome nations, 303.
Virginity, ſold in France many times over, 302. No certain proofs of it, 330.
Virtue, the practice of it only can render mankind happy; a ſtory to this purpoſe, 225, 231. Always endeavours to conceal itſelf, 287.
Viſapour, the yellow women of, ſerve to adorn the ſeraglios in Aſia, 365.
Ulrica Eleonora, queen of Sweden, placed the crown upon the head of her huſband, 442.
Univerſity, its ridiculous contention about the letter Q, 387.
Vomit, 463. A more powerful one, ib.
Uſbek, quits Perſia, the route he took, 209, 214, 237, 243, 244. His chief black eunuch, 210. His motives for travelling,

travelling, 217. Having examined all his wives, naked, gives the preference to Zachi, 212. Jealous at Zachi's being ſurprized alone with Nadir the white eunuch, 239. Thinks Roxana virtuous, 240. Tormented with jealouſy, ſends back one of his eunuchs, with all the black ones who attended him, to encreaſe the guards of his wives, 242. His uneaſineſs about the conduct of his wives, 241. Receives terrible news from his ſeraglio, 472, 473, 474, 475. His orders to the chief eunuch, 477. After the death of the chief eunuch to Narſit his ſucceſſor, 474. Gives the place of chief eunuch to Salin, and commits his vengeance to his care, 477, 478. Writes a thundering letter to his wives, 478. The uneaſineſs his wives give him, 479. Receives letters of reproach from his wives, 480, 481, 482, 484.

Uſurpers, 379.

W.

Wars, thoſe which are juſt and unjuſt, 363.

Waſhings, legal, 234.

Whippings, one of the puniſhments inflicted on the women in the ſeraglios in Perſia, 481.

Wine, the duties on it, make it dear at Paris, 259. Bad effects of, ib. Why forbid to Mahometans, 229.

Wits, a kind of, deſcribed, 345. The French fond of being thought ſuch, 314.

Wives, Mahomet's inſtructions about them, 395.

Woman, a pleaſant hiſtory of a, in the Mogul's country, who wanted to burn herſelf with the body of her deceaſed huſband, 338.

Women, the unhappineſs of ſuch as are ſhut up in ſeraglios, 215. Thoughts of the men on this ſubject, 217. More eaſy to be deſtroyed than humbled, 486. Greatly indulged with liberty in Italy, in the eyes of a Mahometan, 243. An inferior creation to man, according to Mahomet, 246. A compariſon between thoſe of France and Perſia, 249, 261. Whether it is not beſt for them to be deprived of

their liberty, 267. Some in France whoſe virtue is as ſtrict a guard to them as the eunuchs are in the eaſt, 283. French would always be thought young, 291, 292. Deſcription of ſome who are virtuous, 297. Neglect gaming when young, to indulge a more favourite paſſion, 298. When old, game, ib. Having a number of them, keeps a man free from their dominion, 299. The animated inſtruments of man's happineſs, 308. Beſt known by being in Europe, 309. What talent pleaſes them beſt, ib. The channel of all court favours, 308. The important and difficult buſineſs a pretty woman hath upon her hands, ib. Great care not to be, but to appear, pleaſed, ib. Yellow, of Viſapour, ſerve to adorn the ſeraglios in Aſia, 365. Of pleaſure, great numbers in Europe, 299. Commerce with them does not anſwer the end of marriage, 399.

World, cauſes of its depopulation, 391, 411. See *Depopulation*.

World, if it had a beginning, 394. Hath not at preſent the tenth part of the inhabitants it anciently had, 392.

Y.

Youthfulneſs, women at Paris who pretend to reſtore it, 303.

Z.

Zoroaſter, the legiſlator of the ſect of the Guebres, or Magi, wrote ſeveral ſacred books, 321.

Zuſager, the ſword of Hali, 232.

THE END.

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